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Miami's Bayfront Park served as a freight port during the Florida Boom of the 1920s. This photograph was taken by Richard B. Hoit from the recently opened *Miami News* tower in August 1925. It shows ships unloading building supplies. In the distance, other ships wait at Fisher Island for a chance to unload their cargoes. Reproduced in Richard J. Bowe, *Pictorial History of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1965), 85, and Nixon Smiley, *Yesterday's Miami* (Miami, 1973), 72.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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“SPORTING LIFE ON THE LINE”: PROSTITUTION IN PROGRESSIVE ERA PENSACOLA

by JAMES R. MCGOVERN*

IN OUR OWN TIME, when rapid changes in attitudes toward sexual morality are conversational coin, it is interesting to consider an experiment in the regulation of morals devised in Pensacola, Florida, in the early years of the twentieth century. As a port city, Pensacola responded historically to the sexual desires of large numbers of male transients by noteworthy permissiveness. The city displayed a similarly liberal attitude towards the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

Although the Progressive Era nationally witnessed various social movements to eliminate sexual vice and its attendant evil—alcohol, Pensacola, at the time, showed little interest in such reforms.¹ Pensacola's heritage as a port city with European traditions explained, in part, the response of its residents. As early as 1821 the community's aberrant ways had caused Mrs. Andrew Jackson, accompanying her husband at the time of the transfer of Florida from Spain to the United States, to shudder at its immoralities. In a letter to a friend, she noted: "The Sabbath profanely kept: a great deal [of] noise and swearing in the streets."² Late nineteenth-century court records show that even the righteous morality which Mrs. Jackson had expected of Americans did little to ease the port dwellers' psycho-biological

* Mr. McGovern is chairman and professor of history, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

1. This article is an expanded version of material being prepared for publication in a book tentatively titled "Pensacola, a City in the Modern South, 1901-1945." For background on the movement for betterment of morals in the Progressive Era, see David J. Pivar, *Purity Crusade, Sexual Morality and Social Control* (Westport, Connecticut, 1973). See also James R. McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom in Manners and Morals," *Journal of American History*, LV (September 1968), 315-33, especially 330-32; and James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963).
2. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 3 vols. (New York, 1860), II, 603-06.

tensions. For example, in 1876 a man named James Gibson registered a complaint against a woman who lived next door. He could not sleep, he claimed, "on account of the noise and frolicking [*sic*] of men and women kissing and pulling each other about." Other contemporary legal cases involved "Big Jennie" and Matilda Brown, the latter a widow with six children who maintained three to five women boarders.³ By 1910 Pensacola had a well-defined red-light and saloon district, and the city enjoyed recognition among navy men as a "good port."⁴

Sailors who developed a yearning for female companionship after weeks at sea faced competition from personnel at the local Navy Yard or from the crews of visiting commercial vessels. Seamen could prove unruly visitors unless afforded tolerable amenities, as the citizens of Pensacola learned when the North Atlantic Fleet anchored there while on maneuvers in Pensacola Bay in 1904. Also, men who joined local fishing fleets, often seeking escape from conventional life, including marriage, constituted a robust group when off-duty.⁵ Transients in the area often found themselves lonely for companionship, as did a large number of recently arrived unmarried Greek immigrants and farm lads moving into jobs at the Navy Yard and for the Louisville & Nashville Railroad company.⁶ Some boisterous spirit, possibly a member of one of these groups, while attending a performance of *Parsifal* at the Pensacola Opera House, heard the hero proclaim his wish for an hour in "the heroine's arms" and yelled out, "fifteen minutes for mine."⁷ Such conditions made a district for prostitution seem a virtual social

3. Cases of Circuit Court, Historical Documents Section, Escambia County Courthouse, Pensacola, 1876, 5615; 1875, 5386, 5099.

4. Much of the information for this article has been obtained through interviews with three informed residents of Pensacola now in their seventies and eighties. These gentlemen patronized Pensacola's red-light district and knew its bordellos from personal observation. They have asked to remain anonymous sources. They will hereinafter be referred to by the letters A, B, and C. The author interviewed Mr. A and Mr. B together on June 15, 1975, in Pensacola. The interview with Mr. C took place on May 26, 1975, in Pensacola. For obvious reasons, these interviews constitute closed manuscript materials.

5. Interview with Tommy Welles, Pensacola, February 26, 1975. The Welles family has been in the fishing business in Pensacola for many years.

6. John D. Stametelos, *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in Pensacola, Florida, 1909-1959* (Pensacola, 1959), 5-6.

7. Danton Walker, *Danton's Inferno* (New York, 1955), 72.

necessity. It could relieve the consciences of respectable men as well, and even justify their own participation.

To reconcile the existence of a red-light district with the aspirations of local progressives for human betterment, it proved necessary merely to be practical. Within the framework of southern progressivism the citizens of Pensacola believed that the freedom of white citizens depended on the enforcement of Jim Crow laws and attitudes.⁸ Similarly, on the question of prostitution, citizens believed that their community's general good depended upon a female minority also less than equal. Although the existence of bordellos, let alone an established red-light district of three to five city blocks, clearly violated the law, neither local authorities nor citizen groups made sustained efforts to eliminate them.⁹ The community found itself in the ironic position of condoning organized vice for its own betterment.

Pensacolians chose to maintain a *cordon sanitaire* around a restricted area, thereby confining law-breaking activity and permitting its close surveillance. In effect, local citizens preferred that the law be broken in a restricted area under careful observance rather than to permit lawlessness and immorality to spread into the rest of the community.¹⁰ The physical conditions of Pensacola allowed for this type of adaptation. Streets off lower Palafox had long been abandoned by more respectable residents. These houses, close to the city's wharves and hence customers, could easily be converted into bordellos. Thus, the prostitution district came to be confined to Zaragosa Street from Palafox to Baylen and on Baylen from Main to Government.¹¹ Since Pensacola boasted few automobiles in these early years, these boundaries could be maintained without too much difficulty. Furthermore, Pensacola's small population— 17,747 in 1900 and

8. *Pensacola Journal*, April 2, 1904. See also Donald H. Bragaw, "Status of Negroes in a Southern Port City in the Progressive Era: Pensacola, 1896-1920," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (January 1973), 299-300.

9. *Code of Ordinances of the City of Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1898), 52.

10. Interview with Francis P. Taylor, Pensacola, January 3, 1973; interview with John S. Reese, Pensacola, March 13, 1975. When the military insisted in 1917 that the district be temporarily closed, the prostitutes spread out across the city, leading one prominent citizen to remark: "Lord, now they are living next to my mother." Interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975.

11. Interview with J. McHenry Jones, June 15, 1975; interview with John S. Reese, Pensacola, March 13, 1975; interview with William Pfeiffer, Pensacola, March 7, 1975. Unfortunately, a flood which accompanied a 1926 hurricane destroyed police records in Pensacola.

22,982 in 1910—permitted the police to detect and punish those who might otherwise attempt to evade the city's containment program.¹² Even in permitting a zone for law breaking, the community reserved the power to invoke the full measure of the law. This situation virtually assured the cooperation of "law breakers" who adhered to their designated territory and submitted to whatever regulations were deemed essential. The red-light district demonstrated white male supremacy—black men and all "respectable" white women were not allowed in the area.¹³ Brothel owners acceded willingly to the demand of officials that their girls submit to periodic physical examinations for venereal disease. Since Pensacola required strict racial segregation, even to the extent of having separate brothels for black and white prostitutes, Negro and white physicians performed physical examinations on members of their own race.¹⁴

City officials required the owners of the houses to maintain reasonable order in their establishments. When situations developed that threatened persons or property, the madams stood in the street and blew whistles to summon the unusually heavy police detail assigned to the area. Proprietors who failed to keep order found themselves in jeopardy of going to jail. Police also expected madams and girls to inform on criminals who frequented the houses. Since criminal activity centered in the district and its peripheral area of dance halls, pool parlors, and saloons, local authorities erected a large dragnet on the city's south side. Containing the area of maximum incidence of crime afforded advantages of both safety and economy for the rest of the city.

12. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population*, I (Washington, 1921), 82.

13. Interview with Francis P. Taylor, Pensacola, January 3, 1973; interview with John S. Reese, Pensacola, March 13, 1975; interview with Aldo Rasponi, Pensacola, March 13, 1975. Mr. Rasponi is currently chief of detectives in Pensacola. He joined the police department in 1938, but is conversant with life in the district in the earlier period by virtue of talks with veterans of the early days with whom he served.

14. White males, usually from the lower class, were permitted to enter brothels employing creole and black prostitutes. Black males were not permitted in the district. Interview with Rex Harvey, Pensacola, February 17, 1974; interview with Sam Beck, Pensacola, March 12, 1975. Physical examinations of prostitutes were performed by respected physicians who were compensated by brothel owners. Interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975.

The restricted district provided other advantages. The city obtained substantial revenues by occasional crackdowns on brothel owners for real or alleged violations of the code of operations or sometimes even for operating a house of prostitution. One full-scale crackdown in the district resulted in fines of nearly \$2,000.¹⁵ Police action in July 1917 led to 150 women being arrested. Reportedly, these raids involved proprietors "of every resort in the red-light district, as well as every occupant."¹⁶ Though Pensacola never officially licensed its brothels, the practice of permitting brothels to continue operations, although frequently fining inmates, proved tantamount to licensing.¹⁷

In addition to its first responsibility, Pensacola's red-light district provided a release for various psychological tensions. A culture which idealized white womanhood sometimes produced wives too refined to become effective sexual companions. Yet the number of old-timers who state explicitly, or by inference, that they enjoyed many visits in the district suggests that these men sought more exciting partners. The interest some white men showed in black and creole prostitutes undoubtedly manifested a similar need.¹⁸ Bordellos housing these women, as well as low-priced white women, operated on Baylen Street off West Zaragoza. The more expensive brothels were located in the 0 to 200 blocks of West Zaragoza.

The red-light district also provided a way to initiate young men into the mysteries of sex. Pensacola high school boys often had their first sexual experience in the local bordellos.¹⁹ Danton Walker, the former columnist and an intimate of the district,

15. *Pensacola Journal*, April 25, 1905.

16. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1917. For other raids on the district see *ibid.*, June 26, 1908; November 5, 1909; September 22, 1912; July 10, 26, 1917.

17. Interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975; interview with Mr. C, Pensacola, May 26, 1975; interview with Bernie Bosso, Pensacola, May 3, 1973.

18. Interview with Bubba Solari, Pensacola, February 26, 1975; interview with John S. Reese, Pensacola, March 13, 1975. Mr. Solari is a police inspector, and Mr. Reese is a lawyer and lifelong resident of Pensacola.

19. Interview with James Pace, Pensacola, April 25, 1973; interview with William Pfeiffer, Pensacola, March 7, 1975. The madams would usually ask young men whether they were "minors," but would readily accept them if they declared themselves "adults." Interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975. Mr. A and Mr. B contended that some Pensacola mothers would rather have their sons go to the "Line" than jeopardize the good morals of local girls.

which he called the "Line" because of its line of brothels, noted that while most customers patronized the area on Saturday nights, young men "in the first flush of discovery" might visit it nightly, at least for a while.²⁰ So socially acceptable did the practice grow that some young men from wealthy families allegedly paid for their activity by check.

Customers of the elite bordellos did not greatly fear contracting venereal disease. Regular medical examinations of prostitutes checked the incidence of contagion. In addition, madams policed their own houses by consigning infected girls to domestic chores on the premises until they recovered.²¹ Sometimes relationships between Pensacola's young men and prostitutes could cause problems; disclosure of a son's activities did trigger anxieties for parents. One prostitute who exceeded accepted propriety was fined and jailed when several fathers complained that she "was ruining their sons."²²

Some customers who "went sporting" on the "Line" proved more equal than others.²³ Those with adequate funds could enjoy the companionship of the more desirable girls. First-class houses, five or six of the approximately fifteen bordellos in the district, were in the first two blocks of West Zaragoza and contained \$3.00 to \$5.00 girls.²⁴ These women appealed not only to ship and fishing boat captains, naval officers, and prosperous Pensacolians, but even to judges from Alabama and Mississippi who, reportedly, frequented the establishments.²⁵ On one occasion

20. Walker, *Danton's Inferno*, 93.

21. Interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975.

22. Minutes of the City Council of Pensacola, City Hall, Pensacola, August 25, 1899, p. 195.

23. The favorite term used by Pensacolians to describe their visits to the "Line" was "going sporting." Interview with Simon Wagenheim, Pensacola, June 22, 1975. Mr. Wagenheim was born in Pensacola in 1893.

24. Interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975. See also *Pensacola Journal*, July 25, 1917. A major crackdown on the red-light district in July 1917 closed sixteen houses of prostitution, and one in March 1941, closed fifteen. See index to Criminal Cases, Escambia Court of Records, Historical Documents Section, Escambia County Courthouse, Pensacola, 6743, 107; 6740, 104; 6741, 105; 6753, 117; 6749, 113; 6742, 106; 6745, 109; 6247, 111; 6761, 125; 6751, 115; etc. See also *Pensacola Journal*, April 2, 1941.

25. Interview, Dennis Hornsby with Thomas Bowen, Pensacola, January 2, 1971, cited in Dennis Hornsby, "The Pensacola Police Department and Crime in Pensacola, Florida, 1912-1915" (research paper, University of West Florida, 1971), 2. Mr. Bowen was a police officer in the red-light district around 1910.

a captain of the city police force had to be roused from one of the houses while intoxicated.²⁶

Among many renowned houses on the "Line," including those of Percy Nelson, Violet Arnold, and Hazel, the most famous, located at 15 West Zaragosa, belonged to Mollie McCoy. An impressively stout woman, Mollie reportedly had the command potential of a first sergeant, and she dedicated herself to providing a first-class house of refined debauchery. Her bordello rivaled New Orleans's most select pleasure spots. Mollie's name in gilt letters on the door demonstrated her pride in her establishment. A black maid ushered visitors into the main parlor with an air of gracious hospitality. The reception rooms of this twenty-room brick house, set among moss-draped magnolia and oak trees, reflected the garish style of the time. "The ceiling was high and windows floor length, masked by curtains of cherry colored satin; the walls were papered in gold and there were gilt chairs . . . a wood fire burned beneath a white marble mantel causing a lively sparkle among the crystal ornaments."²⁷ Other public rooms also had a baroque look—elegant carpets, gilt-edged mirrors, and much bric-a-brac and paintings.²⁸ Mollie expected her guests to spend liberally on drinks. She handled rowdies with aplomb and authority. Once when a customer unexpectedly pulled a gun and threatened to shoot everyone, she calmly walked up and ordered him to put down the gun. The pianist resumed playing and Mollie asked her rude visitor to leave.²⁹

Mollie's girls had ladylike ways, good looks, and the handsome full figures typical of that period. In the district's hey-day, with Pensacola's economy growing rapidly, Mollie employed as many as fifteen girls, some from as far away as New Orleans, Louisville, and other cities in the South.³⁰ She dressed her girls in a grand if showy manner and forbade them to drink, smoke, or act indecently in the public rooms. Former customers

26. Minutes of the Board of Public Safety, City of Pensacola, City Hall, Pensacola, April 21, 1913, p. 286.

27. Walker, *Danton's Inferno*, 84. Walker's description of the Mollie McCoy establishment is confirmed by a number of former patrons, including Mr. A and Mr. B.

28. *Ibid.*, 90-91.

29. Interview with Mr. C, Pensacola, May 26, 1975.

30. *Ibid.*; interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975.

recall that many of the girls in the expensive houses had a touch of real class. One remembered them as "the prettiest girls you ever saw."³¹ They usually went to the movies during the afternoon, but at night they were strictly cloistered, and this was an unwritten article of the district's code of operation.

A number of "elite prostitutes" won the steady attention of local men, and some, like "French Louise," eventually married reputable citizens, like government employees or prosperous businessmen.³² Some of the respectable women of Pensacola resented and felt threatened by the girls of the district. Yet, at Mardi Gras, a few of the more curious townswomen would don costumes and masks and walk through the district. Pressure from jealous wives and mothers probably inspired more than one official crackdown on the "Line."

Although quiet usually prevailed in the immediate neighborhood of Mollie McCoy's house, the rest of the district kept the "Black Maria" busy. Prices for women here ranged from \$1.00 to \$2.00. The girls often enticed male passersby in to their establishments to play the nickelodeon for twenty-five cents, to dance, or to buy a quart of beer.³³ These women were usually from the rural area around Pensacola, in contrast to Mollie's more exotic girls. Some perhaps were divorcees in Pensacola.³⁴

Prostitutes in the houses on Baylen between Zaragoza and Main streets and in some of the cheaper places on Zaragoza were sometimes accused of robbing their clients.³⁵ In 1914 a heroin-addicted woman pleaded guilty to manslaughter in the death of a soldier to whom she had given some of the drug.³⁶

31. Interview with Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975.

32. Interview with Francis P. Taylor, Pensacola, January 3, 1973; interview with William Pfeiffer, Pensacola, March 7, 1975; interview with Arthur E. Forester, Pensacola, June 23, 1975; interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975. It has been estimated that twenty Pensacolians—fishermen, artisans, civil servants, and businessmen—married prostitutes in the period 1900-1920. Interview with Mr. A and Mr. E, Pensacola, June 15, 1975.

33. Interview with William Pfeiffer, Pensacola, March 7, 1975; interview with John S. Reese, Pensacola, March 13, 1975.

34. Complaints filed in Divorce Proceedings, Escambia County, Escambia Court Archives, Escambia County Archives Building, Pensacola.

35. Pensacola Journal, March 10, 1911.

36. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1914. Drug addiction in Pensacola was a serious medical problem. Cocaine and morphine appear to have been available without prescriptions in some local drugstores. Local newspapers regular-

Fights among the girls, as well as their use of coarse or obscene language on the streets, led to police intervention.³⁷ When police raided the lower-class brothels, the prostitutes who could not pay their fines had to go to jail.³⁸

In 1917 Pensacola officials, at the prompting of Governor Sidney J. Catts, agreed to close down the red-light district—at least for the duration of the war.³⁹ In so doing, they were responding to the military's concern for the health and well-being of its personnel. City officials had acted because they feared that the military might discontinue some of its operations in Pensacola which might prove detrimental to the local economy. As one critic stated, "The question is whether or not the camps or the district is more valuable." In July 1917, sixteen persons received jail sentences and fines for operating bordellos.⁴⁰

Saloons situated in or near the red-light district also did a profitable business. However, they must have been regarded as more expendable than the houses of prostitution because prohibitionists in Escambia County mounted a series of organized drives to force their closing. The reformers failed when Pensacolians voted overwhelmingly in 1907 to retain sale of intoxicants, offsetting a prohibitionist effort in the county's rural areas. At the time it seemed in the best local interest to sell liquor and permit the operation of saloons despite the evangelical fervor of some who saw prohibition as essential to the improvement of mankind.⁴¹ The critical question seemed to be could the city's business afford prohibition? Interest groups joined the chorus

ly carried advertisements for a drug treatment sanitarium in Louisiana. See Elizabeth Dwyer Vickers and F. Norman Vickers, "Notations on Pensacola's Medical History, 1873-1923," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association*, LXI (January 1974), 99.

37. *Pensacola Journal*, February 1, 1908.

38. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1917.

39. *Ibid.*, July 10, 25, 1917. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels apparently insisted that Governor Catts initiate action against the tenderloin district, reportedly alleging that "on occasion more than fifty sailors had been seen in one of the houses [of prostitution] through the open windows, carousing and dancing with nude women." *Ibid.*, July 24, 1917.

40. *Pensacola Journal*, July 10, 1917; Index to Criminal Cases, Escambia Court of Records, 6743, 107; 6740, 104; 6741, 105; 6753, 117; 6749, 113; 6742, 106; 6745, 109; 6247, 111; 6761, 125; 6751, 115; etc.

41. Some persons entertained great doubts as to whether the local economy could afford prohibition. See *Pensacola Journal*, August 11, 1907; October 10, 1915. The editor of the *Journal* believed that the town was too cosmopolitan to accept prohibition. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1907.

of opposition to prohibition. Laborers, immigrant ethnics, and blacks voted heavily in a special city election to defeat prohibition on October 1, 1907.⁴² In 1910 and again in 1915 Escambia County voters defeated similar proposals, the last vote being nearly two to one with every precinct in Pensacola but one, opposing the measure.⁴³

As with the brothels, the city worked for effective control over the saloons rather than their abolition. Heavy annual license fees of \$2,500 kept the number of saloons down to approximately twenty to thirty in the period, 1900-1915.⁴⁴ The city council also restricted saloon hours from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m., and ordered them closed on Sundays as an added public safeguard.⁴⁵ It even denied special permission to anguished saloon owners to remain open until midnight when the fleet had returned.⁴⁶

The Goldmine Saloon, Captain Cragor's, Tony Johnson's, and Birmingham O. McHogg's constituted some of the better-known Pensacola drinking establishments where local characters like "New York Barney," "Montenegro Tom," "Good Looking Eric," and "Strong Arm Harry" would meet.⁴⁷ Another cluster of some five saloons existed in the vicinity of the Louisville and Nashville depot. The city did not permit saloons in the better residential areas.⁴⁸ Women could not enter any saloon, and a public ordinance also outlawed the displaying of pictures of nude women.

While some saloons in the downtown area sought and earned a highly respectable reputation, others might more accurately be termed dancehalls, where one dollar would assure an evening

42. *Pensacola Journal*, October 2, 1907, describes the voting of blacks. For the attitude of labor, see *ibid.*, September 14, 1907.

43. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1915.

44. R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Pensacola Directory, 1905* (Pensacola, 1905), 475-76; R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Pensacola Directory, 1913* (Jacksonville, 1913), 420-21; Minutes of the City Council of Pensacola, City Hall, Pensacola, July 15, 1910, p. 287.

45. *Pensacola Journal*, October 29, 1909; December 19, 1916; City Ordinances, Pensacola, City Hall, Pensacola, December 13, 1911, p. 87.

46. *Pensacola Journal*, November 21, 1910.

47. Interview with William Pfeiffer, Pensacola, March 7, 1975; interview with Tommy Welles, Pensacola, February 26, 1975.

48. Don McLellan, *Fifty Years in Pensacola: Personal Reminiscences and Anecdotes* (n.p., [1944?]), 46-47.

of dancing along with beer.⁴⁹ One large saloon located on the edge of the red-light district at Pine and Palafox became notorious for its gambling. A number of murders occurred there, many reportedly unsolved.⁵⁰ Indeed, shootings and murders took place in several saloons, particularly at the notorious "Alligator," on the corner of Wright and Tarragona streets.⁵¹ Arrest statistics indicate that life must have been hard psychologically in Pensacola in the early years of the century. Arrests for drunkenness or drunk and disorderly conduct numbered more than 1,100 out of a total of 6,287 arrests in the year 1908.⁵² Some persons participated in the city's drug traffic in the vicinity of the restricted district. A local paper reported in 1914 that several small grocery stores and fruitstands were selling morphine.⁵³ Men who preferred wagering to whoring frequented ten to twelve gambling houses in 1904. Such establishments proved more vulnerable to police action than any other of the city's illegal activities, however.⁵⁴

Pensacola's efforts to cope with these extra-legal activities through a quarantine system enforced by police surveillance proved fundamentally successful. Despite the anonymous character of many of the city's inhabitants and the unusual tensions imposed upon them by reason of their occupations—sailors, fishermen, and servicemen—the city managed to protect itself from threatening social disruption. Middle class residential neighborhoods did not suffer unsightly intrusions. "Decent" women could travel in their town safely at night.⁵⁵ Few cases of rape took place in Pensacola at the time.⁵⁶ In fact, most of its old-timers recall Pensacola as a peaceful place, marked by strong family and civil authority and prizing conventional morality highly. It is ironic, therefore, that even as the city carefully contained

49. Interview, Dennis Hornsby with Berger Testman, Pensacola, January 3, 1971, cited in Hornsby, "Pensacola Police Department and Crime, 1912-1915," 26.

50. McLellan, *Fifty Years in Pensacola*, 47.

51. Minutes of the Board of Public Safety, City of Pensacola, January 17, 1909, 39.

52. *Pensacola Journal*, June 26, 1908.

53. *Ibid.*, November 16, 17, 1914.

54. County Solicitor Scott Loftin maintained that there had been ten to twelve gambling houses in the city in 1904, but that none existed in 1916. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1916.

55. Interview with Daisy McAllister, Pensacola, November 10, 1973.

56. Interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975.

the red-light district in order to protect its citizens, their morality began to change as a result of national trends.

The trial of Mrs. Florence McGowan for killing J. Loran Brown served as Pensacola's *cause celebre* for the period. The latter had met Mrs. McGowan's daughter, a fifteen year-old convent student, when she was visiting a friend in Pensacola. He took her to dinner, and afterwards a movie. He then convinced her to take a hotel room with him because it would be too late to return to her friends boarding house. Besides, he promised he would soon marry her. Later, when her daughter confessed having spent the night with Brown, Mrs. McGowan pressed charges against him, and then shot and killed him at the time of the hearing. Although the people enthusiastically applauded Mrs. McGowan's acquittal on grounds of justifiable homicide, the incident demonstrated that Pensacola had grown too large and its population too transient to permit effective community controls over morality.⁵⁷ Improved transportation made for easier virtue. The city had its share of "white slavers," including one prominent young resident who took his paramour to Birmingham.⁵⁸ Still another sensation worthy of front page notice involved a local husband whose wife ran off with a boarder who had formerly lived in their home.⁵⁹

Like the rest of American society, respectable Pensacolians began in the Progressive Era to find sex a titillating interest.⁶⁰ Affluence and increasing opportunities for individualism helped explain their interest, as did the ready availability of information on changing morals in other metropolitan areas as disseminated by newspapers, wire service photographs, and the movies. Much of the change in local morality limited itself to curiosity and fantasy, merely anticipating later behavioral changes. Most sensational sex episodes in America, including the love life of Evelyn Nesbitt and Harry Thaw, received juicy coverage by the Associated Press and wound up on the front page of the *Pensacola Journal*.⁶¹ Dorothy Dix, who found the

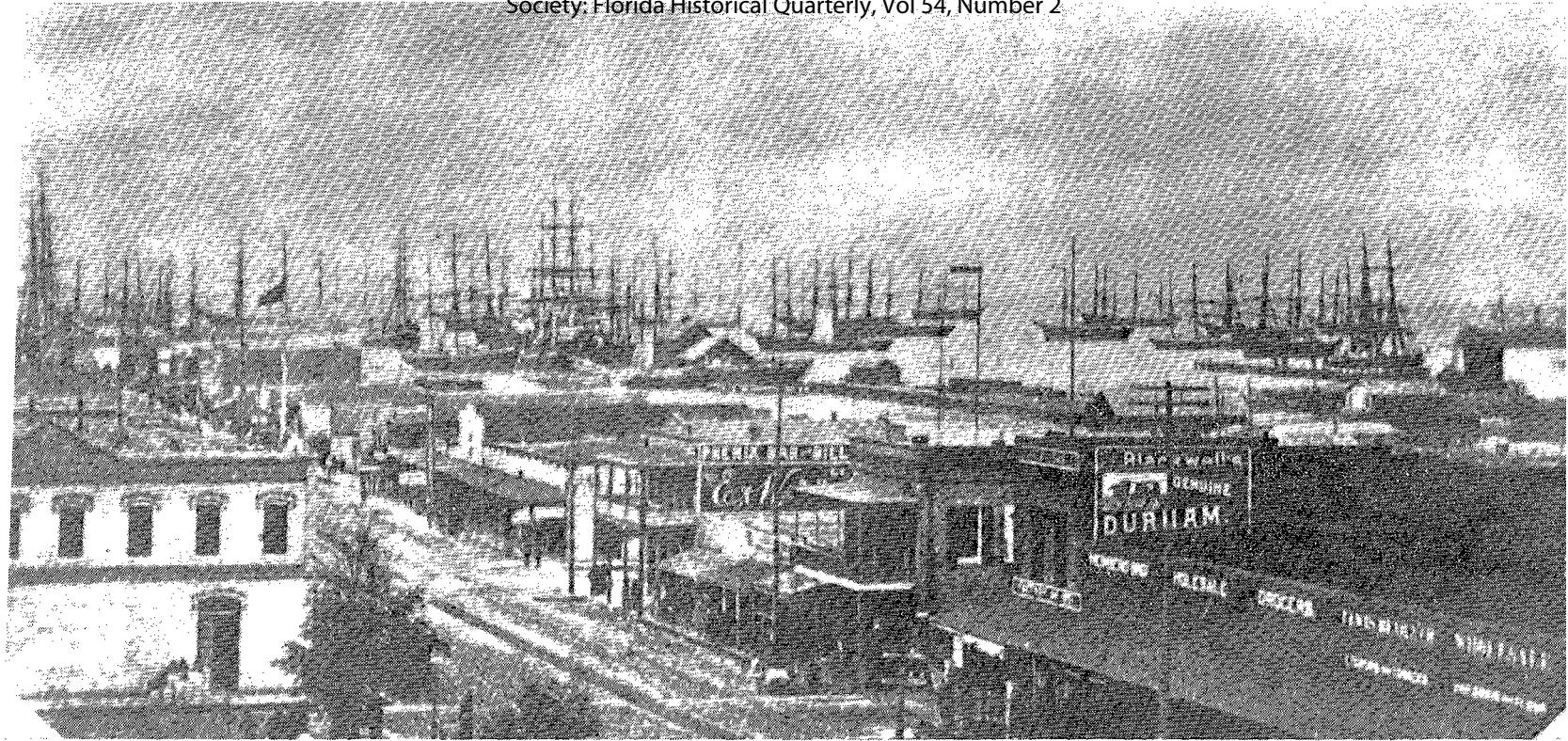
57. *Pensacola Journal*, November 5, 6, 1914.

58. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1914; May 4, 1916; August 27, November 11, 1913.

59. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1914.

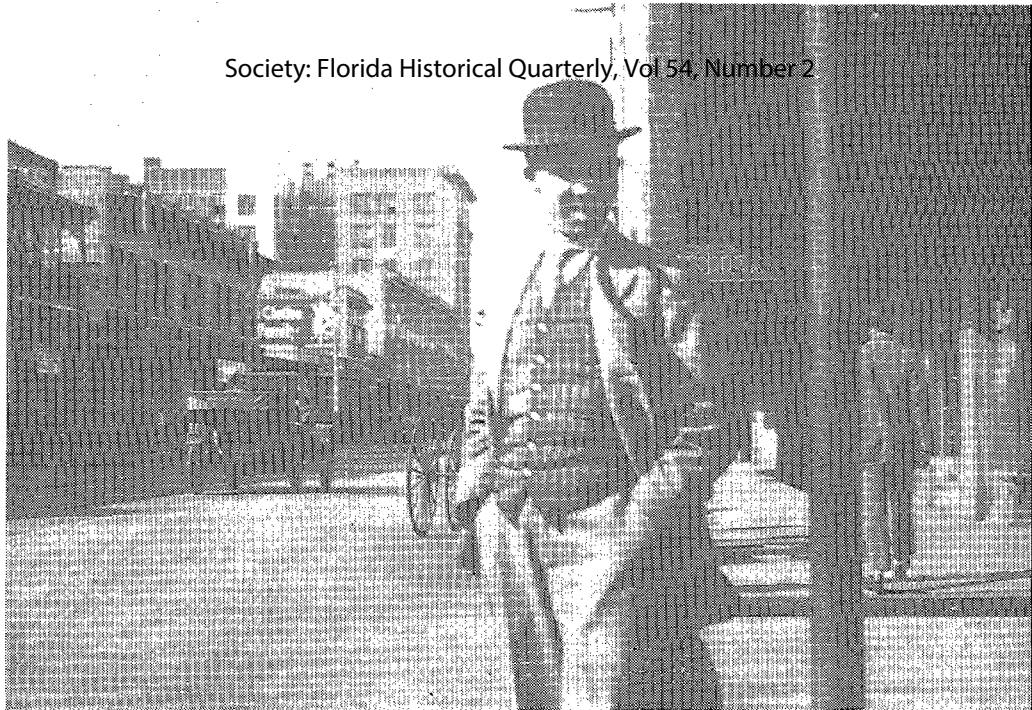
60. McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom," 315-33.

61. *Pensacola Journal*, February 1, 1907. See also, for example, the discussion of the "Free Love Cult" in Alliance, Ohio, with pictures of the house, in *ibid.*, March 31, 1915. See also *ibid.*, January 18, 25, 1911.



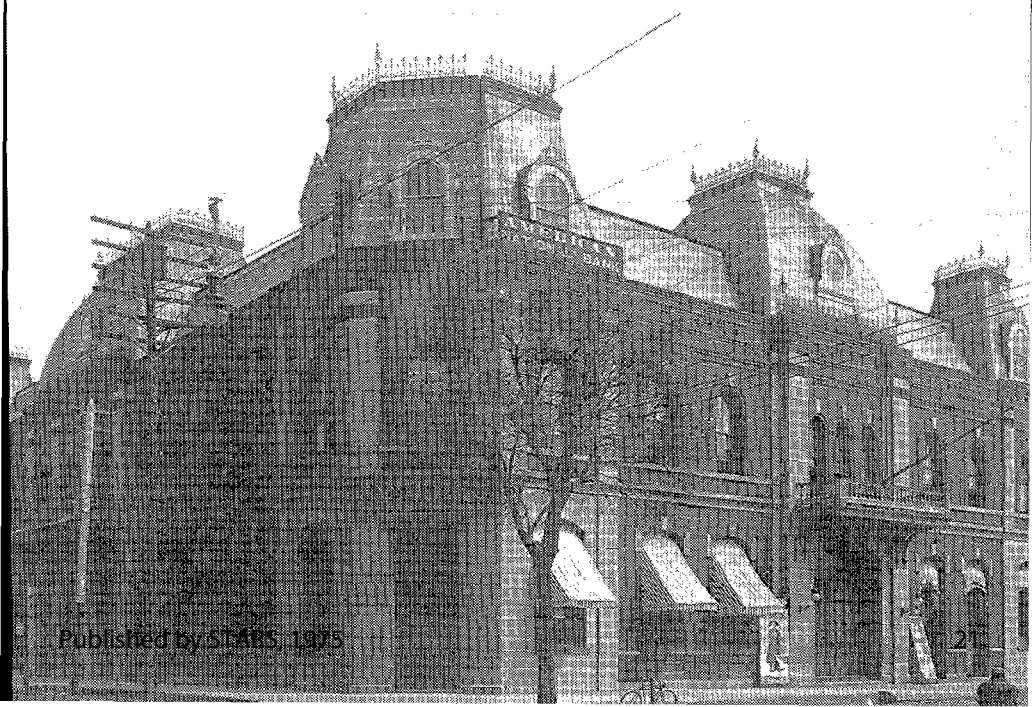
Pensacola harbor. From a photograph in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/inq/vol54/iss2/1>



Looking north on Palafox Street from Intendencia Street, ca. 1915. *Pensacola in Pictures and Prints*, 96, original owned by Lou Ashley.

Pensacola Opera House, 1883-1917, corner of Jefferson and Government streets. *Pensacola in Pictures and Prints*, 62, original owned by University of West Florida, Pensacola.





Police chief Frank Wilk and officer Oscar Collins, 1908. Norman Simons and James R. McGovern, *Pensacola in Pictures and Prints* (Pensacola, 1974), 110, original owned by T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

Policeman on horseback, 1909. *Pensacola in Pictures and Prints*, 110, original owned by Lou Ashley.



erotic interest of American women during this period "distressing," probably described the ladies of Pensacola, as well as others, when she wrote: "I'll bet there are not ten thousand women in the whole United States who couldn't make one hundred in an examination of the life and habits of Evelyn Nesbitt and Harry Thaw."⁶² Cartoons in the *Pensacola Journal* depicted pretty young girls in the arms of handsome men doing all the latest dances.⁶³ Readers showed interest in the new risqué fashion fads, including "peek-a-boo" blouses. They witnessed pictures of "see through gowns," lingerie-clad Gibson girls, and the other clothes which heralded the approaching flapper era.⁶⁴

Motion pictures, meanwhile, administered a variety of aphrodisiacs, from "cheapie" one-reelers usually depicting beauties in snug pink tights for the amusement of the sailors to more respectable offerings at the Pensacola Opera House and the Isis Theatre which opened in 1914. Pensacolians avidly attended *In Search of a Sinner* starring Lillian Russell at the Opera House in 1911.⁶⁵ The play narrated the story of a middle-aged widow "who had been married to a goody-goody" and who now wished for a more exciting "sinner." Ads for *Damaged Goods*, a movie concerned with the subject of venereal disease, described the film as "a Life-time Education in One Performance."⁶⁶ The Isis meanwhile offered *Where Are My Children*, which dealt with the subject of abortion. The ads called this epic a "Daring Exposure . . . Which Leaves Nothing Hidden."⁶⁷ Perhaps understandably, the owner of the Isis refused to admit persons under sixteen. Other movies at the Isis, *The Unfaithful Wife*, *Who Stole the Bridegroom*, and *Parisian Romances*, implied social acceptance of public eroticism. Indeed, a local commentator declared that the movie *Inspiration*, advertised by a nude woman whose three-quarter turn from the back displayed the curvature of her bosom, provided just that. He sensed an aroused audience, predicting that "those who saw it before can hardly wait until tomorrow arrives to get the opportunity of seeing it again; those

62. Boston *American*, April 10, 1908.

63. *Pensacola Journal*, December 3, 1915.

64. *Ibid.*, August 22, 28, 1913; November 18, 21, 1911.

65. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1914.

66. *Ibid.*, October 10, 1915.

67. *Ibid.*, September 11, 12, 1916.

who did not see it on its previous showing here are anxiously awaiting the opening [of] the doors of the Isis tomorrow."⁶⁸

The erotic content of these and similar movies demonstrated that local Pensacola society had already been drawn to the dramatic changes in morals observable in the nation at large. Those changes began to reach behavioral levels in Pensacola by the end of World War I. The Escambia County Circuit Court in Pensacola in 1900 had granted twenty-nine divorces with only three based on charges of adultery; in 1918 the number rose to fifty-eight divorces with sixteen cases of adultery.⁶⁹

While the city had defended the walls of moral propriety against naval personnel of the area, its own middle class, the foundation of its respectability, had begun to flirt with the pleasures— movies and news stories— emanating from larger urban centers. As that phenomenon continued and produced significant changes in the morals and attitudes of young middle class men and women, the effect spelled the disappearance of the red-light district. During the 1920s and 1930s the district declined, although first-class establishments such as Evelyn's "Town Club" at 123 West Zaragosa continued to flourish.⁷⁰ It is symbolic that one of the old-time madams informed a gentleman from a local bank who in 1930 asked her to pay the rent or face foreclosure: "We can't pay. The amateurs have run us out of business."⁷¹

In March 1941, at the request of the military during the national emergency, the city again closed down the restricted district. A quarantine covered fifteen houses of "ill repute," and anyone seen entering or leaving risked a \$1,000 fine.⁷² World War II brought to a final ending the operations of Pensacola's brothels which had played for so many years a special role in the life of the community.⁷³

68. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1916. See ad in *ibid.*, February 4, 1916.

69. H. O. Simpson, "Divorces in Pensacola" (research paper, University of West Florida, 1973), 12.

70. Interview with Mr. A and Mr. B, Pensacola, June 15, 1975.

71. Interview with A. C. Blount, Pensacola, February 13, 1973. There are a few "mug shots" of prostitutes in the Police Department files, Central Records Division, 1937.

72. *Pensacola Journal*, April 2, March 28, 1941.

73. Interview with Aldo Rasponi, Pensacola, March 13, 1975.

THE SPANIARDS AND WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES IN FLORIDA, 1799-1803

by DAVID H. WHITE*

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE by 1799 had either conquered his European enemies or had pacified them, and only Great Britain stood between him and complete mastery of the continent. Spain since 1795 had been a rather reluctant ally of France, and thus her coast and the coasts of her colonies, including those along the Gulf coast, had become subject to the depredations of almost overwhelming British sea power. To further plague the Spaniards another problem materialized in 1799—the return to Florida of William Augustus Bowles.

A British adventurer and native of Maryland, Bowles had served in the British army during the American Revolution until he had been cashiered for insubordination in 1781. He thereupon made his way into the Indian country north of Pensacola, where he married the daughter of a Lower Creek chief and began to exercise considerable influence with his wife's people.¹ Then, for a time, he left Florida and took up residence in the Bahama Islands. But he made two subsequent trips to Florida, in 1788 and again in 1792, with contingents of men and supplies with which he proposed to smash the lucrative monopoly given by Spain to the firm of Pantón, Leslie and Company. He was supported in these ventures by Bahama merchants, and he had some official support, for the English had not completely given up hope of regaining the province of Florida.² Although he was not successful in his first two attempts, Bowles returned to Florida again in 1799.

* Mr. White is assistant professor of history, University of Alabama in Birmingham.

1. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles, Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens, 1967), 1-13. See also Lyle N. McAlister, "William Augustus Bowles and the State of Muskogee," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXX (April 1962), 317-28.
2. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 30-46. See also Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles's Seizure of Pantón's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IX (January

The Spaniards became aware of Bowles's plans even before he appeared on the scene. Juan Vicente Folch, commandant of Pensacola, had received information about his activities from the Spanish representative at Philadelphia. Folch surmised that Bowles might try to come ashore at Tampa Bay, but more probably at the mouth of the Appalachicola River, and he recommended that two well-armed launches be stationed at each place to prevent the landing. The Spaniards were promising a reward for Bowles's capture, but Folch feared that it would be too small to tempt the Indians, especially if Bowles came well-stocked with trade goods.³

In the fall of 1799 Bowles did appear at the mouth of the Appalachicola River without being intercepted by the Spaniards, but his ship ran aground in a storm and he and his followers barely escaped with their lives and a small part of the cargo. Bowles and his party hastened inland where he was reunited with his Creek family.⁴ Although the Spaniards had failed to prevent his landing, they quickly learned that he had managed to reach Florida despite the shipwreck.⁵

Soon after his arrival, Bowles declared the Independent Indian "State of Muscogee" and appointed himself "Director General" of the new nation. He planned to populate the state with Lower Creeks, Seminoles, and settlers, both black and white. He also declared war against Spain and began commissioning privateers to operate against Spanish shipping.

Bowles wasted little time in proceeding against the Spaniards. In April 1800, a man named García, who lived near Pensacola, while working in the woods encountered three friendly Indians who informed him of the approach of 300 Seminoles intent on stealing livestock and killing Spaniards in retaliation for the deaths of three Indians at Apalache. García passed this information on to Folch, who immediately dispatched a mounted

1931), 156-92; Jack D. L. Holmes and J. Leitch Wright, Jr., eds. and trans., "Luis Bertucat and William Augustus Bowles: West Florida Adversaries in 1791," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLIX (July 1970), 49-62.

3. Juan Vicente Folch to Nicholas Dauncy, August 6, 1799, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 53. Archivo General de Indias is hereinafter cited as AGI; Papeles Procedentes de Cuba as PC, followed by a legajo number.

4. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 115-16.

5. Folch to Tomas Portell, October 29, 1799, AGI:PC, 53.

patrol of twenty-five men and an officer to the Escambia River, northeast of the town, with orders to arrest any Indians who had stolen livestock. At the same time, the commandant ordered the men to treat the Indians as gently as possible, since they remained, theoretically, Spanish allies. The patrol captured one Indian and learned that the party numbered no more than ten. The Indians had spread the rumor about many Seminoles being on the warpath in order to frighten the Spaniards and enable the Indians to steal livestock more easily.⁶

In spite of their chronic lack of manpower, the Spaniards began making plans to apprehend Bowles, a difficult undertaking since he would be well-protected by his Lower Creek allies. They decided that they might be able to utilize the Upper Creeks, who lived north of Pensacola, since they did not at this moment favor Bowles.⁷ But, as time went on, many of the Upper Creeks turned their support to Bowles and could not be relied on by the Spanish. The Marques de Casa Calvo, the governor of Louisiana and West Florida, eventually decided to hire an Indian trader to go into the Lower Creek territory and try to capture Bowles by trickery. The trader, obviously Anglo-Saxon with the improbable name of Eduardo McCabe, received broad offers of assistance from Folch. He intended to travel east to Apalache and then move north into the Lower Creek Nation.⁸ However, before the mission got underway, Bowles struck.

He had threatened to take the fort of Apalache, the most exposed and weakest of the Spanish positions and the only fortification between Pensacola and St. Augustine. In the spring of 1800, Bowles and a group of Lower Creeks, Seminoles, blacks, and a few white men laid siege to the fort. Even though it had been reinforced from Pensacola in January, its commander, Tomas Portell, felt that he could not hold out against Bowles.⁹ By May the fort had been without supplies for a month, and Portell felt apprehensive that Bowles would not or could not

6. Folch to Manuel Lanzos, April 19, 1800; Folch's instructions to Lieutenant Colonel Don Francisco Maximiliano de St. Maxent, April 22, 1800, AGI:PG, 54. See also Lyle N. McAlister, ed., "The Marine Forces of William Augustus Bowles and His 'State of Muskogee'," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (July 1953), 3-27.

7. Folch to Marques de Casa Calvo, November 1, 1799, AGI:PC, 53.

8. Casa Calvo to Folch, May 20, 1800, AGI:PC, 54.

9. Folch to Tomas Portell, January 16, 1800, AGI:PC, 54.

restrain the Indians if they proved able to take the fort by force.¹⁰ Without supplies or additional reinforcements, Portell decided to surrender on May 20, 1800. There had been no casualties, and Bowles permitted the Spanish garrison and its commander to sail away.¹¹ His superiors later court-martialed Portell in New Orleans for his alleged cowardice in surrendering the fort.¹²

When the disaster at Apalache became known to the Spaniards, Folch received orders to retake the fort. Loading his forces aboard three galleys and two gunboats, he sailed east along the Gulf coast, until he sighted the fortification. The commandant ordered a bombardment, forcing its surrender on June 23, 1800, although Bowles and his followers managed to make their escape on a vessel which had been anchored on the river just above the fort.¹³ After repairing the damage caused by the bombardment, the Spaniards garrisoned the fort and then turned their attention to the capture of Bowles.¹⁴

Lieutenant Colonel Zenon Trudeau readied an expedition in New Orleans and passed through Pensacola on his way to the Lower Creek country. While Folch believed the number of troops sufficient to capture Bowles, he felt skeptical as to the effectiveness of the expedition, composed as it was of infantry from Louisiana and Mexico and mulatto militia from Louisiana. The commandant complained that the troops had never been drilled to take up positions of attack and defense or other formations necessary for operations in hostile territory. The regular infantry, he said, had been in continuous service so long they had had no time to practice military tactics; the mulatto militia remained totally ignorant of any tactics. Perhaps, Folch, who was often inclined to be jealous of his position, had been angered because he had not been chosen to lead the expedition. As it turned out, Folch's suspicions proved to be correct; the expedition failed to capture Bowles although it avoided a major disaster.¹⁵ Then the Spaniards decided to try to take Bowles by guile, since they had not been able to capture him by force.

10. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 130.

11. Folch to Manuel Lanzos, June 2, 1800, AGI:PC, 54.

12. Folch to Don [?] Leblanc, September 6, 1800, AGI:PC, 54.

13. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 135-36.

14. Folch to Pedro Olivier, July 11, 1800, AGI:PC, 54.

15. Folch to Casa Calvo, August 4, 1800, AGI:PC, 54.

Eduardo McCabe departed for Creek territory on February 20, 1801, accompanied by a trader named Jaime Ortega and an Indian, Jorge Canar [Canard or Kinnaird]. On the second night of the journey, the travelers camped in the forest. Although they found themselves situated in Indian country, they did not take particularly careful precautions, and even left a torch burning. That night, about eleven o'clock, they awakened to observe two white men training their guns on them. They turned out to be agents of Bowles who had been informed by blacks in Apalache that McCabe had set out for the Nation. They identified themselves as Santiago [James] Campbell and Clark, and announced that they planned to spend the rest of the night at the campsite, and take McCabe and his companions to Bowles in the morning. A little later, McCabe produced a bottle of rum and invited the others to join him in a drink. When the bottle had been emptied, McCabe found another. As the evening progressed, activities became increasingly more lively. Later, McCabe complained of a stomach ache and asked permission to go into the woods. Campbell went along to guard him, but when they had moved away from the campfire, he asked McCabe if he would like to escape and said that he would help him get away. Returning to the campsite they found Clark lying on the ground next to the empty rum containers. His carbine had slipped onto the ground. Pretending to get a drink, Campbell quickly snatched Clark's gun, passed his own pistols to McCabe, and they took Clark prisoner.

Campbell obviously wanted to get away from Bowles, whom he had first joined in the Bahamas. He had grown tired of the life he had been leading. Originally he believed Bowles to be a strong Indian leader with solid British support, but now he considered him an imposter. Campbell wanted to ally with the Spaniards. He had attempted to join them once before, but had not been able to convince them that he was not a spy. In any event, he had determined, so he said, not to deliver up any more white men to the Indians.

In the morning Campbell and McCabe saddled the two best horses and rode off. They returned shortly afterwards to retrieve Ortega the trader, whom they feared might be in danger from the Indians. The Indian, they felt, would be safe enough. They

arrived back at Apalache on May 22. The Spaniards, exasperated that yet another attempt to take Bowles had failed, put McCabe on trial for neglect of duty, but they subsequently freed him. James Campbell, who established his claim of being an American— a native of Maryland— received permission to enter the Spanish service.¹⁶

Bowles had not been idle in the meantime. Expeditions continued to be fitted out in the Bahamas with supplies and goods. One, as reported to Folch by informers from the Bahamas, included ships with cannon large enough to engage the Spanish galleys guarding the coast.¹⁷ Another expedition brought with it English uniforms, supposedly to be worn either by white men impersonating British soldiers to the Indians, or by the Indians to lead the Spaniards to believe that the British had attacked them.¹⁸

One of the expeditions came to grief at Spanish hands. In the spring of 1801, a ship from Providence anchored on the coast near Apalache and began to unload supplies to Bowles and some Indians. Suddenly Spanish galleys appeared, causing the British vessel to stop short, cut its cable, and make for the open sea with most of the supplies still aboard. The enraged Indians wanted to attack Apalache immediately. Bowles quieted them, telling them to wait for other ships and cannon with which they could attack more effectively.¹⁹

Folch and the Spaniards feared that Bowles might extend his influence from the Seminoles and Lower Creeks to the Upper Creeks in American territory, but at first the Upper Creeks opposed his policies or at least held themselves neutral.²⁰ However, as time went on, the Upper Creeks became attracted by Bowles's trading goods and his reasonable prices. In 1802 more than 500 Upper Creeks accepted Bowles's invitation to come to Florida to receive gifts, knowing full well that they might be expected to participate in an attack on the Spaniards.²¹

At one point the Spaniards began to suspect that the

16. Statement of Santiago Campbell, February 23, 1801; Folch to Casa Calvo, April 9, 1801, AGI:PC, 54.

17. Folch to Casa Calvo, February 26, 1801, AGI:PC, 54.

18. [?] to Folch, June 3, 1801, AGI:PC, 54.

19. James Durrouseaux to Folch, June 14, 1801, AGI:PC, 54.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Folch to Manuel Salcedo, May 29, 1802, AGI:PC, 54.

Americans, who coveted Florida for themselves, might actually have supported Bowles's disruptive activities. Some of his raids had taken place near the residence of Benjamin Hawkins, the American Indian commissioner on the Flint River, and the Spaniards suspected that the agent might be working with Bowles. Carlos Brown, a Creek mestizo, told the Spaniards that many of the half-breeds of the tribe believed Hawkins to be cooperating with the British adventurer. A large council of war had been held by the Bowles party no more than twenty miles from Hawkins's residence and, according to Brown, this could not have taken place without the commissioner's tacit approval.²²

Hawkins attempted to forestall the suspicions of the Spaniards, maintaining that they had received false information in Pensacola about the developments in Creek country. The Lower Creeks and Seminoles, Hawkins stated, had distorted the picture. As an example of this misinformation, Hawkins cited the case of Eleazer Bullard, a Carolina trader, who regularly came into the Creek Nation, usually staying with Jack Kinnaird, a Creek who was also an Indian trader. Bullard had been accused of supplying the Bowles party with powder. When Hawkins conducted an investigation, cross-examining him in the presence of Indians who verified his statements, Bullard admitted that he had brought powder into the Indian country, but for the Cherokees who intended to use it only for hunting. Bullard claimed that he had been mistaken for another man named Redington, a close associate of Bowles, who had been staying at Kinnaird's house at the same time. According to Bullard, it was this man, who used the assumed name of Dr. Forbes, who had been supplying the Creeks for some time. Redington had stopped at Kinnaird's house while Bullard was there, and had asked some Indians to accompany him to Jamaica where a plentiful supply of guns and ammunition could be obtained. According to Hawkins, when Kinnaird heard of this, he became very angry and demanded that Redington leave immediately, threatening to "whip him" if he did not. The adventurer left without delay.²³

22. John Forbes to Folch, April 2, 1803, AGI:PC, 59.

23. Benjamin Hawkins to Forbes, April 3, 1801, AGI:PC, 148. Redington also appears in Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 148. He is identified

The Spaniards' suspicions about the American agent proved totally unfounded, for the Muscogee leader had actually been plotting against Hawkins. Bowles had written to Little Prince, one of his Indian followers: "Mr. Hawkins is the man who if he is not gone must go immediately as he is a dangerous man and will cause some mischief to you by staying. I shall seize him if I find him . . . and proceed against him according to law."²⁴

Hawkins, for his part, had simultaneously been laying plans with President Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn to get rid of Bowles. In June 1801, Dearborn wrote to Hawkins: "I earnestly recommend to you to be on your guard against the improper views of the adventurer; to counteract them as effectively as possible by all suitable means; to watch his movements attentively and to persevere in endeavoring to fortify the minds of the Indians against his artful schemes. Should Bowles at any time come within the limits of the United States, every exertion must be made to apprehend him, taking care only not to compromise the peace of the United States."²⁵ Officials from the United States, like the Spaniards, opposed Bowles because the Americans had been engaged in trying to obtain land cessions from the Indians, and Bowles adamantly opposed any further Indian land transfers.

Bowles menaced the Spaniards on the sea as well as on land. He had issued letters of marque for the state of Muscogee, creating a force of privateers to be used against the Spaniards. Though few in number, the privateers constituted a definite hazard to Spanish shipping, in addition to the danger posed by regular British privateers. The Spaniards often sighted suspicious ships from Fort Barrancas, near the mouth of Pensacola Bay.²⁶ Folch believed these ships to be privateers commissioned by Bowles or else British ships with designs on the *situado*, which arrived periodically from Mexico by sea.²⁷ Folch

as a British adventurer, closely associated with Bowles during this period. Almost certainly he is the same man discussed in Hawkins's letter.

24. Savannah *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, January 21, 1800, cited in Merritt B. Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent* (Athens, 1951), 192.

25. Henry Dearborn to Hawkins, June 1801, cited in *ibid.*, 193.

26. Folch to Joachim de Osorno, June 7, 1801, AGI:PC, 54.

27. Folch to Casa Calvo, July 5, 1801, AGI:PC, 54. The *situado* consisted of a subsidy provided by the government for the support of the province.

even feared that his fort might be attacked from the sea, and made extensive preparations to repel such a maneuver if it developed.²⁸ He exhorted the galleys to redouble their vigilance in order to prevent trading goods from the Bahamas from reaching Bowles. Their zeal paid off in July 1801, when the galleys captured a ship from the Bahamas with a cargo destined for Bowles.²⁹

Bowles continued to put pressure on the Spaniards. In the early winter of 1802, he again besieged the fort at Apalache which he had captured in 1800. This time, however, the Spanish commandant revealed himself as being more resolute than Portell. The galleys closely supported the fort, and the Muscogee leader had no artillery. Nevertheless, he continued the siege for some months while his privateers harried Spanish commerce, and large parties of Indians made raids on East Florida.³⁰ But in March 1802, with Bowles engaged in besieging Apalache, England signed the Peace of Amiens with France and Spain. This development seemed to put an end to any hopes that Bowles had for further help from England. Also, the Bahamas no longer served as a haven for the Muscogee privateers. A new man, John Halket, replaced Lord Dunmore, who had been friendly to Bowles, as governor in the Bahamas. Indeed, during Halket's administration, the British tried a dozen Muscogee seamen for piracy and actually executed a few.³¹

There were other indications that Bowles's position was being threatened. John DeLacy, a Nassau merchant who had supported him, apparently desiring to consult with him, sailed from Nassau to the mouth of the Appalachicola River. There Spanish authorities took him prisoner. At first it appeared that Bowles had lost a valuable ally, but it quickly became evident that DeLacy intended to play a double game. He had been in contact with the traders for the Spaniards— the John Forbes Company— and had actively traded with them. DeLacy assured Folch that he had contacted the Indians and could obtain peace and a new alliance between Spain and the Indians.³² Thus, it

28. Orders of Francisco Paula de Gelabert, April 15, 1801, AGI:PC, 54.

29. Jacobo Dubreuil to Durrouseaux, July 23, 1801, AGI:PC, 54.

30. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 152.

31. *Ibid.*, 156-57.

32. John DeLacy to Forbes, March 18, 1802; DeLacy to Folch, March 18, 1802, AGI:PC, 59.

appeared that DeLacy, supposedly a staunch supporter of Bowles, was actually in league with the Spaniards. Folch believed that, "DeLacy intends to play two roles, one if the comedy of Bowles is successful and the other to insure a good trade if by some act of Providence, he [Bowles] falls into our hands."³³

The other Bahama merchants who had supported the adventurer either found themselves in financial difficulties or did not wish to risk money and supplies in Muscogee under the new conditions of the European peace. DeLacy's prophecy of an Indian agreement proved correct, for in August 1802, many of the Seminoles signed a treaty with the Spaniards at Apalache.³⁴ By the fall of 1802, Bowles's navy had disappeared, his supplies had been exhausted, and he had been cut off from the Indian trade. He made a short trip to Key Biscayne in south Florida in a vain attempt to establish some contact with the outside world by sea. Failing in this effort, he returned to north Florida. Since he could no longer supply the Indians, they turned again to the Forbes Company for supplies. Even then, Forbes, the Spaniards, and Bowles's other enemies continued their plans to eliminate him.

In the spring of 1803, the Indians of the southeast called a congress to seek some common policy for land cessions, which over the years had become an increasingly troublesome problem. In mid-May the Indians began to assemble at Hickory Ground, an ancient meeting place of the Creeks near the present site of Montgomery, Alabama. Various whites made appearances: Benjamin Hawkins; Estevan Folch, son of the Pensacola commandant; John Forbes; and several Indian traders. Forbes wanted the Indians to give him land in payment of their long-over-due debts, but at the same time he was conspiring with Folch and Hawkins to capture Bowles. In order to dispel the rumors of disagreement between the Spaniards and himself, Hawkins invited Folch and Forbes to lodge with him, which they did.³⁵

Bowles also arrived at Hickory Ground, accompanied by a small band of Seminoles. In spite of his precarious position, he revealed no sign of fear or apprehension. If he could have produced any evidence of continuing support from the British,

33. Folch to Manuel Salcedo, April 23, 1802, AGI:PC, 54.

34. Treaty between Spain and the Seminoles, August 20, 1802, AGI:PC, 142.

35. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 164.

Bowles might have turned the tables on his would-be captors. However, he was unable to do so, and a group of Upper Creeks finally seized him. Many of the Creeks present resented the continued unrest caused by Bowles, and the relatively few Seminoles present could not defy the will of the majority. Moreover, some of the Indians were eager to collect the reward of 4,500 pesos which the Spaniards had offered.

The Indians took Bowles down the Alabama River to deliver him to the Spanish officers in Mobile. At one point he escaped, but he was soon recaptured. When the party arrived in Mobile, the Spaniards promptly dispatched the unhappy prisoner to New Orleans where they just as quickly placed him aboard a ship for Havana. The Spanish authorities wanted to take no further chances with the spirited leader of the Muscogee Nation.³⁶ They confined Bowles to the Morro Castle in Havana, and he eventually died in a military hospital in 1805.³⁷

Although the Spaniards had offered a reward of 4,500 pesos for the capture of Bowles, there is only a record of 1,500 pesos being paid. The Alabama chief, Topalco; the mestizo Samuel Moniac; and Chief Nonentimathla, the leader of the party of Creeks which had seized Bowles, divided 1,200 pesos. The remaining 300 pesos were divided among the warriors of the party.³⁸

Bowles had been working with English merchants and had attempted to further British policy in Florida. Possibly, he also desired the preservation of the Indians, their traditional lands, and their way of life, but it is doubtful that anyone could have saved them from the inevitable encroachments of American settlers. Bowles possessed considerable courage, ingenuity, and powers of persuasion, but the lack of British support doomed him. Even so, the harried Spaniards, working from a weakening position, felt fortunate indeed to be able to rid themselves of this troublesome adventurer who posed such a danger to Spanish Florida.

36. Juan Ventura Morales to Miguel Cayetano Soler, June 11, 1803, AGI:PC, 2620.

37. Wright, *William Augustus Bowles*, 171.

38. Morales to Salcedo, June 14, 1803, AGI:PC, 2626.

“A YEAR OF MONKEY WAR”: THE ANTI-EVOLUTION CAMPAIGN AND THE FLORIDA LEGISLATURE

by MARY DUNCAN FRANCE*

IN THE SUMMER OF 1925, the world focused its attention on the sleepy town of Dayton, Tennessee, the site of the “Monkey Trial” of John T. Scopes. William Jennings Bryan, former secretary of state and the nation’s most zealous fundamentalist, and Clarence Darrow, the most famous trial attorney of his time, were the real antagonists, as they argued over the issue of the teaching of evolution. Both sides battled as if each believed the trial would produce the definitive statement on God and the creation of man.

Although Bryan’s death shortly after the trial ended seemed to mark the end of the anti-evolution movement, it proved only the lull before the storm. During 1926 the movement was invigorated by the passage of an anti-evolution law in Mississippi and the decision of the Supreme Court of Tennessee which upheld Scopes’s conviction. By 1928 every southern state except Virginia had debated or was considering legislation banning the teaching of evolution in the public schools. Similar bans were being discussed by the legislatures of Delaware, Minnesota, New Hampshire, California, and North Dakota.¹

In Florida, the anti-evolutionists became extremely active during the 1927 legislative session. They worked for the passage of laws to eliminate the teaching of the Darwinian concept in the public schools and to establish close surveillance over textbooks. The anti-evolution movement had first become a significant force in Florida politics as early as the 1923 legislative session. Under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan, who held no office in Florida but played a viable role in state

* Mrs. France resides in Florence, South Carolina, and is employed by the Pee Dee Regional Planning and Development Council as a historic planner.

1. Kenneth K. Bailey, *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1964), 78-86.

politics, anti-evolutionists persuaded the legislature to pass a resolution condemning the teaching of evolution "as fact."

Bryan had first visited Florida in the summer of 1898 when the Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, in which he served as a colonel, spent about two and one-half months in Jacksonville. In 1912 Bryan took his ailing wife to Miami to escape the Nebraska winter. Perhaps persuaded by his cousin, Governor William S. Jennings of Florida, Bryan purchased property in Miami and built a winter home called "Villa Serena." At approximately the same time he built a summer residence in Asheville, North Carolina, but continued to maintain his legal residence and vote in Lincoln, Nebraska. Bryan never actually sold Florida real estate, but he lectured for profit on the glories of property ownership and his own holdings greatly increased in worth with increasing property values. When he sold "Villa Serena" and purchased a less pretentious home, "Marymont," in Coconut Grove, the bayfront property brought him a profit of between \$200,000 and \$300,000. Finally, on May 31, 1921, Bryan announced his decision to make Florida his legal residence.² Bryan enhanced his position as Florida's fundamentalist spokesman through his Miami Bible talks and his state-wide speaking tours. His Sunday morning sessions in Miami's Royal Palm Park often attracted thousands of listeners during the winter season.³

Florida offered a particularly receptive environment for the kind of message that Bryan enunciated. Unlike fundamentalist leaders such as John Roach Straton and Billy Sunday, Bryan affirmed religious conservatism while advocating economic and political progressivism.⁴ Florida found that this type of "moderate

2. Samuel Proctor, ed., "From Nebraska to Florida—A Memorandum Written by William Jennings Bryan," *Nebraska History*, XXXVII (March 1956), 59-65; Jack Mills, "The Speaking of William Jennings Bryan in Florida, 1915-1925" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1948), 2-4; Lawrence W. Levine, *Defender of the Faith, William Jennings Bryan: The Last Decade, 1915-1925* (New York, 1965), 236-42.

3. William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia, 1925), 452; Mills, "The Speaking of William Jennings Bryan in Florida," 6-77.

4. John Roach Straton was a prominent New York Baptist preacher, influential in the fundamentalist movement. Billy Sunday was a controversial professional evangelist. Both men were pessimistic about attempts to redeem society and emphasized the importance of personal salvation. Straton spent his summers in West Palm Beach as a pastor in a local church. Sunday made several trips to Florida during the

fundamentalism" suited the times. Her citizens' aspirations were far from otherworldly; they were immediate and material. Floridians wanted progress and prosperity, but they had no thought of operating outside of a traditional southern Protestant framework. Bryan's amalgam of economic progressivism and religious conservatism may have been composed of mutually exclusive elements, but Florida found it appealing.

To most Americans in the 1920s the mention of Florida conjured up images of lush tropical forests and expensive beach resorts. And while the state retained its reputation as a vacation paradise, commerce grew rapidly.⁵ The spectacular Florida real-estate boom which reached its peak during the summer and fall of 1925 constituted but a brilliant part of a land speculation fever which swept the nation after World War I.⁶ Construction of all kinds received stimulation from phenomenal projects like George Merrick's model city of Coral Gables and D. P. Davis's Tampa suburb built on artificial islands. The boom mania was greatest in south Florida but its impact was felt everywhere. There was even an unusual speculative rush in Pensacola, Tallahassee, and Panama City.⁷

More than in other southern states, the aspirations of the business sector dominated Florida politics. Nevertheless, in some areas the "cracker" mentality continued to predominate and conservative southern Protestantism remained the acknowledged creed.⁸ Bryan provided leadership for those who accepted this creed, and he led a crusade to persuade the Florida legislature to ban theories which conflicted with fundamentalist theology. When the legislature convened in April 1923, there was considerable public support for anti-evolution legislation. With behind-the-scenes guidance by Bryan, Representative S. L. Giles of Franklin County on April 17 proposed a resolution which declared, "that it is improper and subversive to the best interests of the people of this State for any professor, teacher or instructor in the public schools and colleges of this State,

1920s where he created controversy by publicly chastising prominent citizens for their immoral behavior.

5. Clara G. Stillman, "Florida: The Desert and the Rose," *Nation*, CXVII (October 31, 1923), 485.

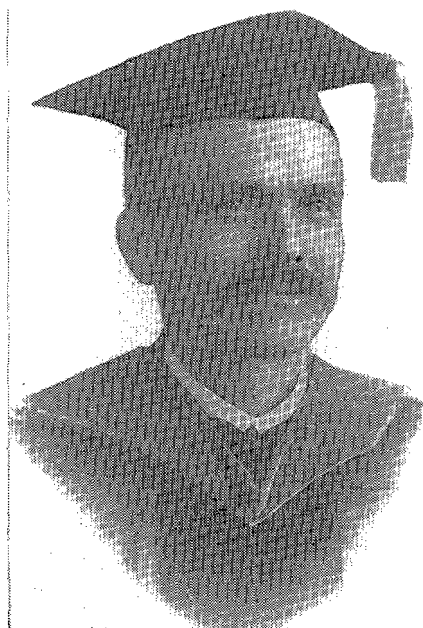
6. Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday, An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* (New York, 1931), 283.

7. W. T. Cash, *The Story of Florida*, 4 vols. (New York, 1938), II, 586.

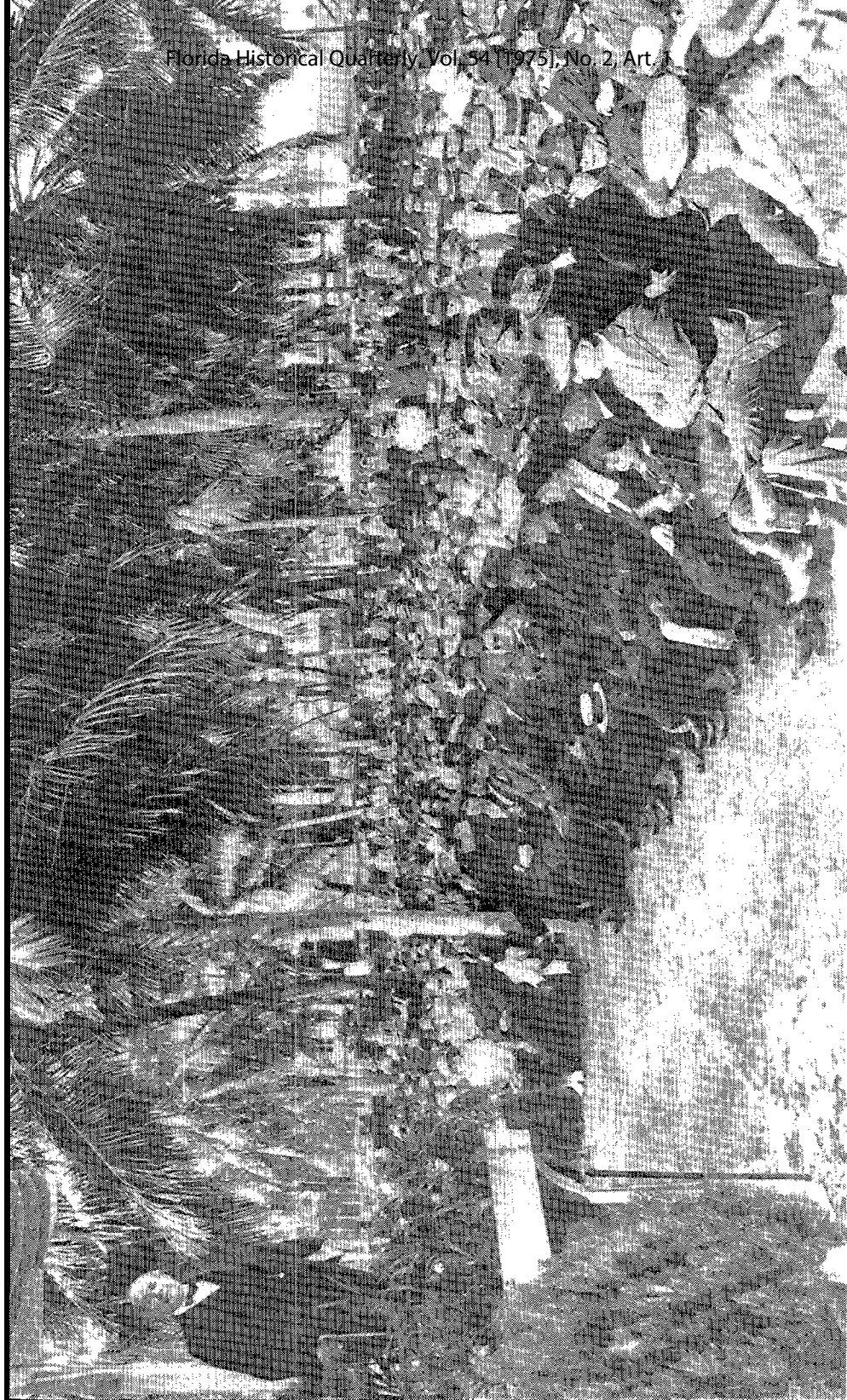
8. Stillman, "Florida: The Desert and the Rose," 486.



Albert Alexander Murphree.
University of Florida yearbook, *Seminole*, 1928, p. 6.



Edward Conradi.
Florida State College for Women yearbook, *The Flastacowo*, vol. VIII, 1921, p. 5.



William Jennings Bryan's Sunday school class in Miami's Royal Palm Park. William Jennings

supported in whole or in part by public taxation, to teach or permit to be taught atheism, agnosticism, Darwinism, or any other hypothesis that links man in blood relation to any other form of life."⁹

The resolution met no opposition, and it received the necessary two-thirds vote for passage. According to a West Florida paper, the matter "came up before the legislature was awake and by the time it did wake up it had endorsed the Giles resolution." The liberal factions were able to generate enough protest to prompt a motion to reconsider by Representative Hugh Hale of Hernando County.¹⁰ Although Bryan was away from Florida when the Giles resolution was introduced, he kept in close touch with his supporters in both houses. Early in the session, Bryan had urged W. J. Singletary of Marianna to help enact some measure to restrict the teaching of evolution "as fact."¹¹ Bryan also informed his close personal friend, President A. A. Murphree of the University of Florida, of the proposed legislation and the importance of including the phrase "to teach as true" in reference to the Darwinian theory.¹²

On May 11, Bryan accepted an invitation to address a joint session of the legislature on the teaching of atheism and Darwinism in the public schools and colleges. He endorsed the proposed resolution, but suggested that the phrase "or to teach as true" be inserted before the term "Darwinism." The following day, the house passed the amended version of the resolution. The senate concurred May 17.¹³

In 1925 anti-evolutionists in the legislature attempted to impose legal restrictions on the teaching of evolution. The 1923 resolution had been an expression of opinion only with no legal penalties for non-compliance. The failure of the resolution to discourage the teaching of evolution had convinced fundamentalists that more rigorous measures were necessary. But in 1925 Bryan's attention had shifted from Florida to the Scopes trial in Tennessee. The Florida anti-evolution bill, over-

9. *Florida House Journal*, 1923, 483.

10. *Ibid.*, 1853-54.

11. William J. Bryan to W. J. Singletary, April 11, 1923, William Jennings Bryan Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

12. Bryan to A. A. Murphree, April 20, 1923, *ibid.*

13. *Florida House Journal*, 1923, 1840, 1853-54; *Florida Senate Journal*, 1923, 1529-30; *Laws of Florida*, 1923, I, 506.

shadowed by the events in Dayton, died in the education committee.

After the Scopes trial and Bryan's death, anti-evolutionist activity diminished for several months. Then during the winter tourist season of 1925, which brought several well-known Protestant revivalists to the state, the controversy was reactivated. One of those inspired by evangelical zeal was George F. Washburn, a Clearwater realtor. A long-time friend of Bryan, he became involved in the anti-evolution crusade after Bryan's death. He was already working as a fund raiser for Bryan Memorial University at Dayton, Tennessee, when in November 1925 a Methodist minister convinced him that he should lead a national anti-evolution organization so that "we may not have a church without a Christ, a pagan country without a Bible, and a humanity without a God."¹⁴

On November 20, 1925, at a mass meeting in Clearwater, Washburn announced he would head the Bible Crusaders of America, and conduct a national campaign to ban the teaching of evolution and "German philosophy" in tax-supported schools.¹⁵ The plan called for a national movement which would first eliminate the teaching of evolution in Florida schools, and then sweep northward and establish a central headquarters in Washington.¹⁶

In December 1925, Washburn appealed to Governor John W. Martin to delete all references to evolution from Florida texts, or to remove offensive books from the schools.¹⁷ When the governor failed to reply to this demand, Washburn tried to convince State Superintendent of Education W. S. Cawthon that it was illegal to teach evolution in public schools. He contended that the 1923 resolution was an interpretation of the constitutional prohibition against the teaching of religion in tax-supported schools.¹⁸

The fundamentalists particularly opposed Gruenberg's *Elementary Biology*, a text widely used in Florida's high schools. Cawthon bent to the pressure, and replaced it with a revised

14. *Clearwater Evening Sun*, November 21, 1925; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 1, 1925.

15. *Clearwater Crusaders' Champion*, December 25, 1925.

16. *Clearwater Evening Sun*, November 21, 1925.

17. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1925.

18. *Clearwater Crusaders' Champion*, January 15, 1926.

edition adopted in Tennessee after the Scopes trial.¹⁹ The Crusaders' attack on textbooks and the move by the 1925 Florida legislature to prohibit the teaching of Darwinism were the beginning actions by these anti-evolutionists. Two years later the fundamentalists would try to stop completely the dissemination of evolutionary concepts in the classroom and to destroy books which mentioned Darwin's theories.

Educators were alarmed by these proposals and the support which Floridians seemed to be giving them. At their annual meeting in Tallahassee in December 1926, the Florida Education Association passed a resolution calling on the legislature to maintain the principle of separation of church and state and to defeat any measure interfering with the teaching of evolution in the public schools.²⁰ According to one Tampa paper, the educators hoped to discourage rumors that an anti-evolution measure would be proposed in the 1927 session. Three weeks after the Association acted, state newspapers were publishing a list of proposed bills for the spring session which included an anti-evolution measure. Despite the protests of these educators, Leo Stalnaker, representative from Tampa, announced that he would sponsor a bill to prohibit the teaching of any theory which stated that man had evolved from a lower order of animals. It would also ban all textbooks containing such concepts.²¹

Before the legislature convened, a Tampa paper polled twenty-eight lawmakers to determine their position on the Stalnaker bill. The majority favored its passage, but their reasons varied. Fred Davis, speaker of the house from Tallahassee, said such a law was not necessary, but he explained he could not "vote against a bill of this kind, because my people would approve of it." Another house member, J. D. Smith of Marianna, favored an anti-evolution law, if it were "reasonable." W. T. Hendry of Perry and L. J. McCall of Jasper endorsed restrictions on the teaching of Darwinism, but only in reference to the evolution of man. Representative B. M. Frisbee of Clay County supported the Stalnaker bill, claiming that the teaching of evolution violated the separation between church and state;

19. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 5, February 9, 1926.

20. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1927.

21. *Florida House Journal*, 1927, part 1, 137.

he opposed "the teaching of Darwinism, or any other religious doctrine."²²

Lawmakers opposed to the bill also differed on their objections. Senator T. T. Turnbull of Monticello felt that the Bible and "true science" were not in conflict. Senator Joe H. Scales of Perry wanted the legislature to delay action until a survey of state educators could be conducted to determine their views on evolution and religion. Pat Whitaker of Tampa argued that the measure would "only engender ill-feeling and accomplish no good." D. S. Gillis of Defuniak Springs dismissed the controversy as unworthy of debate; he would not vote for an anti-evolution law, "or any other legislation of that sort."²³

When on April 11, 1927, Representative Stalnaker introduced his proposal to ban the teaching of evolution, public reaction was immediate. A letter in the *Tampa Morning Tribune* decried the attempt of a "young and zealous legislator" to take the task of curriculum planning out of the hands of qualified educators.²⁴ The paper's editor endorsed this point of view, declaring the proposed law was "harmful" because it would "bring upon Florida nation-wide laughter and ridicule and contempt, just as similar laws have resulted in Tennessee," and would waste "a great deal of valuable time this session."²⁵ The Annual Conference of High School Principals, meeting in April 1927, debated the evolution issue and the principle of academic freedom. In a preliminary statement, the officials avoided mentioning the anti-evolution measure, while affirming, "Only that education can be free which provides, complete liberty to seek the answer to any honest question."²⁶

Although reluctant to become involved in political controversy, educators in both public and private colleges and universities issued strong statements condemning the anti-evolution bill. President Murphree of the University of Florida wrote Senator Edgar Waybright of Jacksonville, one of the bill's major supporters, assuring him that nothing was being taught at his

22. *Tampa Daily Times*, cited in University of Florida *Florida Alligator*, April 9, 1927. Copy in University Archives, University of Florida Library, Gainesville.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 14, 1927.

25. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1927.

26. *Ibid.*; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, April 15, 1927.

institution that would endanger a student's religious faith. While insisting he was a "fundamentalist," Murphree denounced the Stalnaker bill which, he said, would subject Florida to derision.²⁷

Stalnaker had placed the state colleges in a delicate position because their budgets were pending when the anti-evolution measure was introduced. He informed an interviewer for the *Florida Alligator*, the university student newspaper, that while he had always voted for increased appropriations, he might have to reevaluate his position if the university opposed his bill.²⁸ In spite of this warning, Representative Fuller Warren of Blountstown, who was also a student at the university at the time, urged defeat of the bill which he termed "a dangerous piece of legislation."²⁹

The faculty and the president of Rollins College, a small school of liberal arts at Winter Park, lodged an official protest. President Hamilton Holt announced that while he respected the opinion of the anti-evolutionists who believed that the truths of religion must be preserved at all costs, he personally remained opposed to such a measure. The only way truth can be found, he insisted, is through freedom of intellectual process. The resolution as presented by Rollins College warned that if students were not free to seek knowledge in Florida, they would take their tuition dollars elsewhere.

Rollins College as a private school would not have been affected by its opposition to the bill. But Holt hoped that a strong stand by his college would encourage the officials of the state-supported institutions to be more outspoken in their opposition to Stalnaker's proposal. To emphasize further his concern for academic freedom, Holt revealed that he had refused a large endowment when the donor had demanded that evolution not be made a part of the curriculum.³⁰

27. Murphree to Waybright, April 25, 1927, box 75, folder 222, Albert A. Murphree Papers, University Archives, University of Florida Library, Gainesville. Hereinafter cited as Murphree Papers.

28. University of Florida *Florida Alligator*, April 23, 1927.

29. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 12, 1927. See also David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, "Florida Gubernatorial Politics: The Fuller Warren Years," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIII (April 1975), 390.

30. *New York Times*, April 30, 1927; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 2, 1927; Warren Kuehl, *Hamilton Holt: Internationalist, Journalist, Educator* (Gainesville, 1960), 223-25.

The action by the Rollins College faculty and president encouraged many Florida newspapers to oppose the measure. According to the *Gainesville Daily Sun*, the only Florida daily voicing its support was the *Florida Morning State* in Tallahassee. A Palm Beach paper noted that subjects other than biology routinely taught in the state's schools contradicted the Bible and wondered whether the legislature would attempt to ban them as well.³² The *Gainesville Daily Sun* praised the action of the Southern Methodist Educators' Conference which had adopted a resolution at a February 1927 meeting in Memphis, opposing all legislation which would interfere with the teaching of science "in American schools and colleges."³³ Playing down the controversy, the *St. Augustine Record* said that teaching that a contradiction exists between Darwinism and Genesis could only result in a disservice to both science and religion.³⁴ Assuming a similar point of view, the *Fort Myers Tropical News* warned that "the militant atheist in his attack on growing minds" would find his best ally in "the militant anti-evolutionist."³⁵

If educators and the press opposed the measure, there was strong support for it. Many Protestant groups urged immediate enactment of the law. A typical example was the Wesley Brotherhood of the Clearwater Methodist Church, which endorsed the proposal and denounced evolution as detrimental to the "foundation of our American government which is founded on the faith in the Bible as taught and exemplified by our Pilgrim fathers." The group called on others to support Stalnaker's attempt to destroy atheistic and agnostic influences among the "rising generation in Florida."³⁶

On April 19 the House Committee on Education held public hearings on the anti-evolution bill. Stalnaker opened the hearing, defending his proposal and denouncing the theory of evolution which, he affirmed, put man in the same class with swine and monkeys. He called for the removal of objection-

31. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, May 9, 1927.

32. *Palm Beach Independent*, cited in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 1, 1927.

33. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, May 4, 1927.

34. *St. Augustine Record*, cited in *Gainesville Daily Sun*, May 7, 1927.

35. *Fort Myers Tropical News*, cited in *Gainesville Daily Sun*, May 13, 1927.

36. *Clearwater Sun*, April 15, 1927.

able texts used in Florida high schools, the University of Florida, and Florida State College for Women which he labeled "too vulgar to be mentioned before a mixed audience." Several persons declared the evolutionary doctrine responsible for the increase in campus suicides. Stalnaker himself said he would prefer that his children remain uneducated rather than have their faith destroyed.³⁷

Following Stalnaker's speech, the floor was opened for debate. Senator W. J. Singletary agreed with Stalnaker and declared: "These highbrows that have more theory than they have sense . . . are infidels, atheists and agnostics." F. L. D. Carr, another Tampa representative, disagreed and denounced the bill as "foolish" and "needless," insisting that its passage would destroy the good name of Florida. He insisted that Stalnaker was expressing his own views and not those of the majority of people in Hillsborough County. To combat Stalnaker's narrow fundamentalist argument for the bill, his opponents called on Grosvenor Dawe to defend the theory of evolution. Editor of *Nation's Business* and former editor of the *Literary Digest*, Dawe insisted that the battle between fundamentalism and modernism had already been resolved. He condemned any new efforts to "curb free thinking and the advancement of scientific researches [*sic*]." In spite of the strenuous opposition, the committee passed the measure unanimously, with one member not voting.³⁸

The house took up Stalnaker's proposal on May 11 as a special order of business, but immediately voted, fifty-five to thirty-eight, to recommit it to committee. Two weaker proposals were also presented to the judiciary committee as possible substitute amendments.³⁹ The proposed amendments reflected the varying attitudes of the legislators toward the teaching of evolution. Stalnaker's measure was designed to ban unequivocally the teaching of Darwin's theory. Although Representative W. A. MacKenzie of Leesburg had been a staunch supporter of the Stalnaker bill, when he saw it might fail, he indicated his willingness to compromise. His amendment would ban the teaching of any theory that denied the existence of God, the divine

37. Tallahassee Daily Democrat, April 20, 1927.

38. *Ibid.*; Tampa Morning Tribune, April 20, 1927.

39. Florida House Journal, 1927, 1, 2332-33.

creation of man, and "the sonship of Jesus of Nazareth." It emphasized the affirmation of a religious creed rather than the prohibition of a specific theory. Thus, MacKenzie's proposal appeared to be more moderate and less anti-intellectual than the original bill. Representative C. O. Andrews of Orange County proposed a second amendment that was even more general than the MacKenzie measure; it prohibited the teaching of any theory which conflicted with the Bible. Andrews said he did not accept Darwin's theories, but he condemned the banning of specific doctrines.⁴⁰

The variety of bills seemed to confuse the legislators and to divide the anti-evolutionist forces. W. D. Bell of Arcadia announced his opposition to the Stalnaker bill, claiming that it was "unconstitutional." Sidney J. Catts, Jr., a West Palm Beach attorney and son of the former governor of Florida, voted against the measure. He said the effect of the proposed amendments could not be determined. By a vote of nineteen to eighteen, the judiciary committee opposed the measure.⁴¹

The *Florida Times-Union* stated that by its vote the committee had sent "Stalnaker's Anti-Evolution Meteor . . . Into Oblivion."⁴² But backers of the bill were not willing to surrender so easily. On May 11, the same day the judiciary committee voted, supporters of the Stalnaker bill announced plans to hold a rally. Handbills were distributed throughout the city and surrounding counties announcing the meeting as one of the greatest gatherings and demonstrations ever seen in Florida. The crowd that assembled that evening in the Tallahassee High School auditorium was not as large as hoped for, but it was enthusiastic. George Washburn of Clearwater was selected as moderator. He introduced W. A. MacKenzie and W. J. Singletary who praised the Stalnaker bill and urged its passage. Former Governor Sidney J. Catts, who had announced his intention to enter the gubernatorial race in 1928, proclaimed his opposition to the teaching of evolution and pledged to ban the theory from the public schools if he were elected.⁴³ While Catts's favorable position on the gambling issue had eroded some

40. *Ibid.*, 2332.

41. *Ibid.*, 2333, 2607.

42. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 12, 1927.

43. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, May 12, 13, 1927.

of his support, he still commanded respect within the fundamentalist forces.⁴⁴

On May 13 the "evolution Phoenix" plunged the House of Representatives into a state of chaos.⁴⁵ Notwithstanding the judiciary's unfavorable report, there was strong legislative enthusiasm for an anti-evolution law. Supporters of the Stalnaker bill were preparing for a fierce battle on the house floor. At an evening session, which lasted past midnight, the debate over evolution stalemated. Anti-evolutionists were unable to muster the two-thirds majority needed to override the committee's report, and those opposing the Stalnaker bill could not secure enough votes to assure its defeat. The debate involving the bill and its amendments became so heated that Speaker of the House Fred Davis finally adjourned the assembly in order to allow tempers to cool.

In the early dawn hours of May 14, the bill's proponents met in caucus to plan the strategy for the upcoming special Saturday session. Stalnaker's supporters threatened to block passage of all other legislation until an anti-evolution measure was passed.⁴⁶ The bill which had become the "biggest surprise of the session" was finally returned to committee for reconsideration on May 14. In an attempt to quash debate, both sides agreed not to filibuster when the measure finally came up for a vote. Opponents of the Stalnaker bill decided to adopt the MacKenzie compromise rather than waste the remainder of the session debating the controversial issue.

On May 17 the house passed, by a vote of sixty-seven to twenty-four, the measure which prohibited teaching as fact, "any theory that denies the existence of God, that denies the divine creation of man, or to teach in any way atheism or infidelity, and to prohibit the use or adoption for use of any text book which teaches as fact any theory that denies the existence of God, that denies the divine creation of man, or that teaches atheism or infidelity, or that contains vulgar, obscene or indecent matter, and providing a penalty for the violation thereof."⁴⁷

44. *Panama City Pilot*, May 10, 1928.

45. *St. Petersburg Times*, May 14, 1927.

46. *Ibid.*; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, May 14, 1927; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 14, 1921; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, May 14, 1927.

47. *Florida House Journal*, 1927, part 1, 3001.

Representative MacKenzie insisted that he was not "radical," but he wanted to put Florida on record as "believing in God" and the "divine creation of man."⁴⁸ Following approval, several house members were permitted to read into the record their opinions of the legislative action. Representative F. L. D. Carr, one of Stalnaker's harshest critics, attempted to illustrate the absurdity of the controversy with a poem.

I am now a legislator—
 Ah, woe to me!
 I'm between the Devil
 And the deep blue sea.

 This bloody evolution
 Has already "got my goat."
 On the blasted, bloomin' question
 I don't know how to vote.

 To gain my next election,
 I know the bill must pass,
 So I guess I'll ape the monkey
 By voting like an ass.⁴⁹

Other opponents of the bill, exasperated with the time lost in the debate over evolution, ribbed each other about their performances on the house floor. Fuller Warren and R. E. Oliver of West Palm Beach asked the house to declare Carr "poet laureate on evolution."⁵⁰ Carr retaliated by proposing that the house hold a talking contest between A. W. Weeks, Fuller Warren, J. M. Lee, and W. A. MacKenzie, and award a medal to the legislator who could best "spout and shout" on their "individual favorite topic": "What I Have Accomplished in This Session of the Legislature."⁵¹

The anti-evolution bill was sent to the senate where it encountered a hostile reception by the education committee. Chairman John S. Taylor of Largo, a vice-president in the Bible Crusaders and a staunch anti-evolutionist, attempted to have the bill put on the calendar without reference. He had hoped to outmaneuver the opposition by bypassing the committee and moving directly to the senate floor where there was a favorable

48. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 18, 1927.

49. *Florida House Journal*, 1927, part 1, 3002.

50. *Ibid.*, 3377.

51. *Ibid.*, part 2, 5082.

atmosphere. Since the bill was mentioned only by number, several members of the education committee were not aware of what was happening, and agreed to place it on the calendar. When Pat Whitaker of Tampa realized that Taylor was using a deceptive tactic to move the bill out of committee, he brought the controversial nature of the measure to everyone's attention. The committee then voted nineteen to fifteen to reconsider the measure. Because only eight days were left in the session and over 100 bills preceded it on the calendar, the committee's decision to reconsider killed the proposal. Sponsors of the bill attempted to persuade the senate to call the bill up out of order, but this action was also defeated.⁵²

Although anti-evolutionists in the legislature had failed to obtain the passage of even the "anti-atheism" bill, their efforts during the session were not fruitless. On June 1, 1927, Senator Singletary secured the adoption of a resolution which called for an investigation of the textbooks used in the institutions of higher learning. "Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 28" stated that the legislature had been notified that certain textbooks used by state institutions were "inimical to good morals and healthy thought." The resolution provided for the establishment of a special four-member joint committee to scrutinize state texts and make recommendations on their use to the State Board of Education. On the committee's advisement, the board would remove all texts deemed "detrimental to good morals and clean thinking."⁵³

The action of the Florida Senate was an ironic aftermath of the evolution controversy. It had failed to ratify the house bill which merely denounced the teaching of atheism, and yet originated a measure which gave a select committee extensive control over the institutions of higher learning. On April 29, 1927, A. W. Weeks of Holmes County had tried to attach an amendment onto the MacKenzie bill that would have banned certain books on biology and psychoanalysis. The house defeated this motion and also another effort by Weeks to establish a

52. *Clearwater Sun*, May 18, 1927; *Tallahassee Florida State News*, May 19, 1927; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 26, 1927; *Florida Senate Journal*, 1927, 2416.

53. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1927, part 2, 4373-74; *Laws of Florida*, 1927, I, 1623-24.

textbook surveillance committee. The house supported a ban on the teaching of atheism but, unlike the senate, opposed an investigative committee.⁵⁴

The *Florida State News*, a Tallahassee political daily, condemned the action of the legislature as a serious challenge to freedom of thought. It called the resolution a "pernicious bit of legislative insanity only one step behind smashing the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom." The paper also challenged the integrity of Singletary, demanding "to know what manner of person this self-appointed agent-provocateur is." According to the *Florida State News*, most members of the legislature were incompetent to teach grade school, let alone censor college texts.⁵⁵

Singletary, who had been appointed chairman of the investigative committee, was infuriated by the paper's attack. He proposed a resolution barring Byron West, the editor, from the senate chamber, and denounced the editorial as "a pack of lies." West, he insisted, "was not fit to be running around loose, and ought to be in the penitentiary."⁵⁶ Singletary convinced the senate that the *Florida State News* had insulted both him and the entire legislature. The resolution was passed on a voice vote. Singletary tried to persuade the house to rebuke the *Florida State News* by omitting its name from the closing commendation. Besides the wire services, the only other state newspapers covering the legislature were the *Miami Herald* and the *Florida Times-Union*. When the list for commendation was read on the house floor, S. D. Harris of Pinellas County asked that the *Florida State News* be omitted, and this generated debate over the right of newspapers to criticize members of the legislature.⁵⁷ Clay Lewis of Gulf County insisted on the paper's right to criticize public officials, and even the most vocal anti-evolutionist in the house, A. W. Weeks, supported the action of the *Florida State News*. The paper also received strong support from other Florida journals, including the *Miami Herald*, *Jacksonville Journal*, *Gainesville Sun*, *Gadsden County Times*,

54. *Florida House Journal*, 1927, part 1, 1422-23, 2578; part 2, 3493; Tallahassee *Florida State News*, April 30, 1927.

55. Tallahassee *Florida State News*, June 2, 1927.

56. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1927.

57. *Florida House Journal*, 1927, part 2, 6347-48.

and the *Lakeland Ledger*. Byron West thanked the state press for its support and announced his intention to investigate Singletary before he "cast the first stone."⁵⁸

During that summer of 1927 officials from the University of Florida and Florida State College for Women were planning their defense against anticipated attacks on the use of controversial texts. Not only did the schools have to contend with Singletary's legislative committee, but they also were being forced to respond to the agitation of a citizen's group. L. A. Tatum, a Tallahassee businessman, had organized an anti-evolution group in 1926 which had conducted its own investigation of alleged heretical books in the library of the women's college. It demanded the removal of certain texts and it called for the dismissal of "unorthodox professors." Tatum had made his objections known to the Board of Control several times during 1926.⁵⁹ Neither the board nor the Florida Presbytery, however, took any action on his demands.⁶⁰

After the enactment of the textbook investigation resolution, Tatum recruited Alphonse Pichard and several other deacons from the Tallahassee Baptist Church to assist in a renewed campaign against evolution. The Florida Purity League, under the leadership of Tatum and Pichard, vowed to rid all state libraries of objectionable publications and to eliminate "dangerous teachers" from the state schools.⁶¹ In August 1927, J. G. Kellum, business manager of Florida State College for Women, informed President Murphree that Tatum was concentrating his efforts on the women's college because he had a "personal grudge" against Edward Conradi, its president. "I do not think he cares one hoot what is in any of the textbooks," Kellum insisted. Murphree replied that the time was not suitable for Conradi, the Board of Control, or himself "to go into public print on the subject." Murphree suggested that it would be more appropriate

58. Tallahassee *Florida State News*, June 4, 1927.

59. Florida Board of Control Minutes, April 12, 1926, 151-52; May 17, 1926, 166; June 14, 1926, 183; microfilm, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

60. *Ibid.*; Presbyterian church in the United States, Synod of Florida, Florida presbytery, *Minutes* (n.p., n.d.), November 16, 1927, pp. 8-10, copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

61. Raymond F. Bellamy, "A History of the Department of Sociology at Florida State University, 1928-1950," 29, unpublished manuscript, Florida Collection, Strozier Library, Florida State University.

to await reaction to a joint letter of explanation which the alumni of the two institutions had prepared to be sent to applicants and former students.⁶²

In August 1927, Tatum appeared twice before the Board of Control requesting that certain books be removed from the libraries of the two state universities.⁶³ Murphree and Conradi defended the right of their faculties to determine the texts for their classes, but they agreed to restrict their use by students.⁶⁴ The two presidents agreed to have the books reserved for restricted use. They did not want them "to be abused as a result of the unfortunate advertizing [*sic*] they have received from the unfair and unjust criticism of Mr. Tatum."⁶⁵ At the University of Florida the books were enclosed in a wire cage behind the check-out desk and were available only to professors and to selected students who produced a written note from their teacher.

During the fall of 1927, Tatum's group made several unannounced visits to the two libraries looking for heretical material. Meanwhile, the Singletary committee had requested a list of the texts used in psychology and sociology.⁶⁶ In September 1927, Murphree was queried on the adoption of certain controversial texts, but he defended their use "to provoke discussion and present the other side of the situation." Murphree also rebutted charges made by Singletary against Lucius M. Bristol, chairman of the department of sociology at the university. The Marianna senator claimed Bristol had advocated uncritical acceptance of evolution. To reassure the committee, Murphree announced that every professor employed by the university affirmed a belief in God and the Bible.⁶⁷ Restricting the use of the texts satisfied the Singletary committee, but only their removal would have placated Tatum. According to Ray-

62. J. G. Kellum to Murphree, August 16, 1927; Murphree to Kellum, August 18, 1927; box 75, folder 220, Murphree Papers.

63. Florida Board of Control Minutes, August 16, 1927, 402; August 31, 1927, 407; microfilm, Strozier Library, Florida State University.

64. *Ibid.*, October 17, 1927, 444.

65. Murphree to Fred H. Davis, August 20, 1927, box 75, folder 222, Murphree Papers.

66. L. M. Bristol to Murphree, September 29, 1927, box 68, folder 139; Murphree to W. J. Singletary, September 30, 1927, box 75, folder 222, Murphree Papers.

67. Murphree to W. J. Singletary, September 30, 1927, box 75, folder 222, Murphree Papers.

mond Bellamy, sociology professor at Florida State College for Women, a threat to reveal improper conduct by Singletary deterred him from taking further drastic action against the state institutions.

Singletary, who was described as "a strikingly handsome man and a natural orator," often told a story to illustrate how college students were rejecting the faith of their parents. According to him, once while chaperoning a group of female students on a weekend outing he had tried to conduct a discussion on religion. Singletary declared that to his "utter amazement," he "found that out of twenty-seven girls who were there, twenty-one . . . did not even believe in God and scoffed at the Bible."⁶⁸ Professor Bellamy, irritated by Singletary's accusations, contacted the girls involved about the truth of the senator's tale. They claimed that "nothing of the sort had ever happened." Some of the ladies stated that his behavior had been ungentlemanly. One of the girls even said that she had kicked him because of his advances while they were swimming. These accusations were given to a sympathetic senator with the understanding that he would make them public if "Singletary became abusive."⁶⁹

Tatum's Purity League was not satisfied with having the books placed under limited circulation, and continued to press the Board of Control to remove the controversial texts from the library. Under the advice of the board and the State Board of Education, the presidents of the two state institutions agreed to their restriction.⁷⁰ Although they met Tatum's demands, Conradi and Murphree defended the use of the banned material. Murphree presented a questionnaire to the board which had been sent to several colleges in the South. Of the eighteen church schools that replied, all had one to thirteen of the controversial books in their libraries.⁷¹

68. Bellamy, "History of the Department of Sociology at Florida State University," 28; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, May 13, 1927.

69. Bellamy, "History of the Department of Sociology at Florida State University," 30.

70. Murphree to R. F. Maguire, October 17, 1927, box 75, folder 222; to Board of Control, October 14, 1927, box 68, folder 139; to L. A. Tatum and A. Pichard, October 28, 1927, box 68, folder 139, Murphree Papers.

71. Florida Board of Control Minutes, October 17, 1927, 444, microfilm, Strozier Library, Florida State University; Murphree to Spessard Holland, October 5, 1927, box 75, folder 222, Murphree Papers.

When Murphree and Conradi confronted Tatum they always presented a united front, but they did disagree privately on how to handle the accusations. Although the University of Florida had been included in Tatum's first attacks in 1926, he directed most of his venom toward the women's college. Murphree privately called Tatum a "pernicious fool" with "just enough money to make trouble," but he always remained outwardly conciliatory toward the anti-evolutionists. Conradi, though, had refused to yield to Tatum's demands. His refusal to be intimidated intensified Tatum's antagonism and his conviction that Conradi was a dangerous man. Murphree believed that Tatum's crusade would have faltered in 1926 if Conradi had cooperated and had restricted the use of several sociology and psychology texts.⁷²

When the Board of Control finally authorized the books removed from the libraries, twenty-one works were involved, including Floyd Allport's *Social Psychology*, Sigmund Freud's *General Introduction to Psychology*, A. L. Kroeber's *Anthropology*, and H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*. Although the evolution controversy precipitated the need to suppress "dangerous ideas," the ban also included such works as Sherwood Anderson's *Dark Laughter*, D. H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*, and George Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman*.⁷³

Tatum and Pichard and their cohorts were still not satisfied, and Bertrand Russell's works were added to the banned book list.⁷⁴ Murphree removed the volumes to a restricted area, but Conradi refused to comply. In a letter to Murphree, Pichard thanked him for his compliance and bitterly denounced Conradi: "You nor any other single individual will ever know of the real extent of the filthy, immoral, un-Christian and un-American instruction and propaganda in our Women's College, taught by perverted alien or anarchistic instructors shielded by an alien president whos [*sic*] evry [*sic*] word is evasive or otherwise."⁷⁵

72. Murphree to W. B. Davis, May 25, 1926, box 68, folder 139, Murphree Papers.

73. Cora Miltimore to Murphree, October 4, 1927, box 68, folder 139, Murphree Papers.

74. Pichard and Tatum to Murphree, October 14, 1927; Murphree to L.A. Tatum and A. Pichard, October 18, 1927, box 68, folder 139, Murphree Papers.

75. Pichard to Murphree, October 21, 1927, box 68, folder 139, Murphree Papers.

On November 16, 1927, the Florida Presbytery heard the report of its investigative committee commissioned in 1926 to probe the use of objectionable texts at the state college. Edward Conradi had appeared before the committee on October 20, 1927. At that time he assured the assembly that the controversial books had been removed from the college and the library. The Presbytery agreed to discharge the committee when Conradi added that any teacher found teaching anything contrary to the "Word of God" and the "Christian Religion" would be reported to the Board of Control, and the president would recommend his or her removal. Tatum had protested that further purging of the college was necessary, but the committee had refused to hear his complaint.⁷⁶ Tatum no longer had denominational backing for his investigative efforts, and the legislative committee had remained inactive since September 1927. Although support for his campaign was diminishing, Tatum continued to distribute leaflets condemning the use of certain books and calling for the dismissal of "infidel" teachers.

In December 1927, Conradi informed a Pensacola newspaperman that nothing was being taught at the college that would undermine a student's belief in God or the Bible, or promote immoral sex or Bolshevik leanings. He admitted that the theory of evolution was studied, but he repudiated Tatum's contention that it was taught as fact.⁷⁷ Students at the universities in Tallahassee and Gainesville corroborated the testimony of their college administrators and protested the actions of Tatum and his group. An editorial in the *Florida Alligator* insisted that the citizen's committee possessed no ability to judge what should be taught and declared that the determination of the curriculum was best left to the faculty and the Board of Control.⁷⁸ The student body at the Florida State College for Women passed a resolution which denied that faculty members had advocated "free love, interracial marriage, or theories which undermine the Christian faith."⁷⁹

The assurances of orthodoxy given by administrators, faculty,

76. Presbyterian church in the United States, Synod of Florida, Florida presbytery, *Minutes* (n.p., n.d.), November 16, 1927, pp. 8-10.

77. University of Florida *Florida Alligator*, December 10, 1927.

78. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1927.

79. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, June 1, 1927.

and students at the state universities seemed to satisfy most Floridians, although evolution became a relatively minor issue in the gubernatorial campaign of 1928. In his bid to return to Tallahassee, Sidney J. Catts pledged to remove "obscene" books from the women's college even if he had to appoint a new Board of Control every month.⁸⁰

Fundamentalists, however, were beginning to lose their fervor for the crusade to eliminate Darwinism from the public schools. By 1927 the anti-evolutionist forces in Florida were being led by militantly anti-intellectual fundamentalists like Catts and Tatum. Many Floridians who doubted the truth of evolutionary theory, nevertheless, saw the tactics of such men as a threat to academic excellence and as an embarrassment to the state of Florida. Many of the movement's most fervid critics were from the conservative rural areas of the state.

The political power of the anti-evolutionist movement disintegrated as, one by one, its leaders were rejected by Florida voters. Catts was soundly defeated in 1928 in his bid for the governorship. Stalnaker, who had become a municipal judge in Tampa following the 1927 legislative session, lost his reelection attempt by a two to one margin. Finally, when the Tallahassee Chamber of Commerce, after years of hostility toward the women's college, rebuked Tatum and expressed its support for the institution, the last stronghold of active fundamentalist resistance in Florida was broken.⁸¹

Even though the anti-evolution movement in Florida had failed to secure the passage of a law barring the teaching of Darwin's theory in the public schools, it did leave an imprint on the religious and political life of the state. Legal restrictions on the teaching of evolution were rare, even on the local level. But the pressure exerted by citizens and church committees on the high schools and institutions of higher learning made the teaching of evolution a hazardous undertaking.

80. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1928. Of the four Democratic candidates for governor in 1928—Doyle Carlton, Sidney J. Catts, W. A. MacKenzie, and John S. Taylor—only Carlton, who won the election, did not support the anti-evolution movement.

81. Bellamy, "History of the Department of Sociology at Florida State University," 34. For a more extensive discussion of the anti-evolution controversy in Florida, see the author's M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1973.

Nevertheless, the victories of the fundamentalists were merely illusory. Rather than impeding the dissemination of information about evolution, the activities of its critics only succeeded in creating greater interest in the subject. The fundamentalists had attempted to stop the erosion of simplistic religion by banning scientific investigation. They had failed in their effort to restore the past, yet they had made the reconciliation between science and religion more difficult.

**“WE ARE TRULY DOING MISSIONARY WORK”:
LETTERS FROM AMERICAN MISSIONARY
ASSOCIATION TEACHERS IN FLORIDA,
1864-1874**

by JOE M. RICHARDSON*

THE CIVIL WAR resulted in freedom for approximately 62,000 Florida slaves. Most of these were illiterate and poorly prepared for their new status. Slavery, with few exceptions, had provided no opportunity for formal learning, and education was essential for an adjustment from a condition of dependence to a life of independent responsibility. Fortunately, a majority of Florida freedmen were anxious to learn.

Various missionary and benevolent organizations were first responsible for educating Florida blacks. In 1862 the Freedmen's Aid Society of Syracuse, New York, organized schools in Fernandina and St. Augustine. Three years later, the National Freedmen's Relief Association had twenty-four teachers in Florida.¹ But, the most significant of the many educational societies spawned by emancipation was the American Missionary Association. Though it had not been established primarily to aid the freedmen, it was able to respond to black needs at the beginning of the Civil War. Organized September 3, 1846, as a protest against the silence of other missionary societies concerning slavery, the association carried on a non-denominational work attempting to convince Southerners of the evils of slavery. When the first slaves were freed the association led the way in systematic relief and education. It sent missionaries to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, as early as September 1861, and the number increased until by 1866 it employed more than 350 persons in southern schools and churches.²

* Mr. Richardson is professor of history, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

1. *National Freedman*, I (December 1865), 382-83; *Freedmen's Record*, I (March 1865), 39.

2. For studies of the American Missionary Association see Clifton H. Johnson, "The American Missionary Association, 1846-1861: A Study

The AMA advocated full citizenship for freedmen.³ Abolition to them meant more than striking off the slave's fetters; it included divesting former slaves of ignorance, superstition, and sin. At its annual meeting in 1865 the AMA announced its support of black suffrage and full citizenship. Emancipation and liberty, a resolution read, are but "mocking words if they do not convey the rights of citizenship; and we protest against excluding men from the rights of citizenship, civil or political on account of their color."⁴ Though it often failed, the AMA was determined to select no teachers who yielded to or permitted themselves to be influenced by prejudice. Naturally such views frequently brought AMA teachers into conflict with white Southerners.

Apparently the first AMA teacher in Florida was Carrie E. Jocelyn, who arrived in St. Augustine in 1863. By late 1865 the association had established schools at Key West, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Strawberry Mills, Tallahassee, Ocala, Monticello, Gainesville, and Magnolia. White Floridians often received the northern teachers who came to staff these schools with less than enthusiasm. They were insulted, sneered at, and occasionally threatened by mobs. In Gainesville there was a disturbance in 1866 when local whites objected to black students singing "Rally Around the Flag Boys."⁵ Violence against teachers in Florida was rare, however. The most common form of white opposition to black education was the refusal to board teachers or rent buildings for schools.

of Christian Abolition" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1959), and Richard B. Drake, "The American Missionary Association and the Southern Negro, 1861-1888" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1957).

3. Lewis Tappan, the major figure in the association until his death in 1873, wrote in 1865 that the freedman would never have his rights until he had "a musket in one hand and a ballot in the other." Lewis Tappan to Charles Sumner, February 13, 1865; to D. Baldwin, June 3, 1865, Lewis Tappan Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
4. *American Missionary*, IX (December 1865), 268, 273; Tappan to A. Pearson, September 28, 1863; to T. Tucker, October 27, 1863; to Mrs. F. E. G. Stoddard, November 20, 1863; to M. Hamlin, March 10, 1864; to B. Parkhurst, January 26, 1864; to M. White, June 18, 1864; to J. P. Warren, December 23, 1864; to Miss M. A. Burnap, January 25, 1865, Lewis Tappan Papers.
5. A. Mahoney to T. W. Osborne, February 23, 1866; C. M. Hamilton to S. L. McHenry, April 30, 1866; A. B. Grumwell to A. H. Jackson, September 14, 1868, Records of U. S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Though the AMA's activities were more limited in Florida than in other southern states— all benevolent societies tended to slight Florida because of distance and its sparse population— it continued to expand its work until 1869. While there were never more than fifteen AMA teachers in Florida during any one year, each teacher supervised a large number of students. In January 1869 Carrie M. Blood of Monticello taught 190 students in day school, forty in a night school, and 125 in Sabbath school. Maggie Gardner and Emma B. Eveleth had a total of 108 students in a graded school at Gainesville. In addition each taught night and Sabbath schools. At St. Augustine Abbie Bowker and Lydia P. Auld taught a graded school of sixty-four, a night school of thirty, and a Sabbath school with ninety pupils.⁶

After the Florida legislature enacted a school law in 1869, the number of AMA-supported institutions declined in the state, but its work continued. Some schools were turned over to county boards, but the AMA also established new schools in areas which had no educational facilities. Support for Stanton Normal School in Jacksonville, which trained black teachers for Florida schools, continued.⁷ In 1876, when the association began to consolidate its work, Stanton was abandoned.

Although its tenure in Florida was limited and the number of teachers was always small, the AMA made important contributions. Its teachers instructed hundreds of students, and scores more were trained to teach other freedmen. The AMA, other benevolent societies, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the legislature which created a public school system in Florida, all combined to make a most significant contribution— the education of black people. When the American Missionary Association left Florida an educational foundation had been soundly laid.

Fortunately for historians AMA teachers in Florida and other states were prolific letter writers and the association kept records

6. Teachers Monthly Reports, 1869-1870, American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana. The Amistad Research Center had been located at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

7. The AMA early decided that blacks would have to provide their own teachers. In 1866 the Florida Institute was organized in Jacksonville to prepare girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five to teach. On January 30, 1868, the Institute, later Stanton Normal, was incorporated.

of its activities. The association's archives, housed in the Amistad Research Center, Dillard University, contain more than 350,000 items relating to abolition, slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. The following letters are a few of the several hundred Florida letters in these archives. No changes have been made in spelling or punctuation, except in the case of proper names. Portions of some of the letters have been omitted.

St. Augustine, Fla.
Mar. 18th-64

Dear Br. Whipple

. . . Twenty five Colored men from Col. Tighlman's *[sic]* regiment⁸ stationed in Jacksonville went out on a raid last week in this state, and brought into this City, *Seventy* contrabands. They were the most destitute objects I ever saw. Many of them almost entirely naked. The teachers of the F. R. ass.⁹ having some money resulting from the sale of books & c. and other means which we could raise, have been very busy this week in making up clothes for the women and children, and we shall soon have them in a comfortable condition to remain here, or go elsewhere as Government may see fit to dispose of them. The raiders also brought in some fine horses and mules.

They would have brought more people and more booty had they not been betrayed by a girl on a plantation where they had killed the Overseer, & burned the sugar mills with a quantity of sugar syrup & whiskey and the body of the Overseer in the sugar house.

This betrayal brought upon them a portion of Dickenson's¹⁰ *[sic]* Guerilla army about seventy, with which they had a fight on Friday P.M. before they reached here on the Sab. following.

8. Colonel Benjamin C. Tilghman was commander of the Third U. S. Colored Troops. On March 7, 1864, a scouting party of black soldiers and civilians left Jacksonville. In Marion County they engaged and defeated a body of Confederate cavalry, and took four prisoners, seventy-four slaves, five horses, seven mules, and one army wagon. U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume XLVII (Washington, 1895), 166.

9. The National Freedmen's Relief Association, organized February 22, 1862, dispatched teachers to the schools in the South.

10. John J. Dickison led the Confederate light cavalry in Florida. See also Mary Elizabeth Dickison, *Dickison and His Men: Reminiscences of the War in Florida* (Louisville, 1890; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1962).

They killed the Capt. and 27 of the men, wounding eleven and capturing four whom they brought in with them, making forty three, out of seventy of the rebels, and lost of their own number only the guide who was captured. Doesn't this show Negro *valor*?

And they claim a little humanity, as they say they left several of the rebels so severely wounded and alone, as their companions had fled, they thought duty to go back, a few of them, and *finish* them. They say when the parties met they charged upon the rebels in the name of "Fort Pillow."¹¹

Dickenson, the "John Morgan" of this Guerilla band, is highly enraged and determined to have these Col. men if possible. So the Tues. night following the Sab. after they came in, at two o'clk we were awakened by the report of a heavy gun at the Fort and a cry from the guard— "two o'clock and *alarm* in the Camp." It was found that several of the rebels had crossed the river about a half mile in the rear of the City and others were on the way in their "dug-outs," but they were scattered leaving their boats behind. We are about being *reinforced* and shall not probably fall into their hands. . . .

Very Truly Yours, [Mrs.] H. B. Greely

St. Augustine. Jan. 23, 1865

Rev. G. Whipple— Cor. Sec. Am Miss. Ass.

Rev. & Dear Sir

Owing to the interruption and almost total suspension of the mails for several wks. past, I have not made out a report of my school since Dec. 1st 1864. I then reported fifty one, (51). I now have sixty one, (61) about half have been an average attendance.

These persons are from 20 to 75 years of age, and admit of all the shades from the pure imported African to the complexion so light, that you would never suspect their relation to the race.

About a dozen of these are considerably advanced in life, and owing to the dulness of their comprehension, and lacking

11. In April 1864 General Nathan B. Forrest captured Union-held Fort Pillow in Tennessee. Reputedly scores of black soldiers who had surrendered were massacred by Confederate troops. "Remember Fort Pillow" became a rallying cry for black troops.

the power of retention, the labour for the first few weeks seemed to produce only the effect, of the answering echo to the voice, but presently the faculties began to awake, the seed sown to germinate, and now they feel proud to be able to read and spell in monosyllables of three and four letters. One over 70 yrs. of age who was stolen from Africa since her remembrance can do better than this. The great eagerness of them, to learn to read the Bible, prompts them to such diligence and perseverance that I have no doubt they will soon succeed if they can get the large print-Testaments. Can you furnish them?, if so, direct to Rev. W. T. Richardson,¹² Beaufort, S. C., and he will convey them to this place. Is it strange that these elderly people are hard to learn, when the very life-elements of those faculties which God had given them have been so nearly crushed out by the rigor of their task-masters.

But they can learn, and *will* learn to read the word of God, which is a more precious idea to them than the possession of silver or gold. You can't imagine what a beam of joy passed over their countenances yesterday morning in Sabbath School, when I told them they should have a New Testament of large print when they got able to read it.

The younger members of the school are making very good progress, and some learn very rapidly; but I cannot perceive that *Color*¹³ makes any difference in their capacities. . . .

In the removal of slavery, almost as intolerable a burden is lifted from the "poor Whites" or "Crackers" as they are called here, as from the slave. We have had considerable opportunity to see this class of people who flock in here for protection, and to hear the sad stories of their wrongs. They are miserably poor and ignorant and dirty. In many instances needing as much sympathy and help as the fugitive negro.

The ladies of this place opened a school some weeks since for the benefit of the children of these families, and to save expense, five of them teach one day in each week, and also have a Sab. school for them. They were originally Northern ladies—

12. The Reverend Richardson was in charge of AMA schools in Beaufort, South Carolina.

13. During its early work in the South the AMA frequently inquired of its teachers whether there was noticeable difference in learning capability of lighter and darker students. The teachers almost without exception reported that there was none.

very excellent in all respects, only, wanting sympathy with us in our work. It is a little afflictive, to see *Northern* gentlemen and ladies of professed piety and intelligence extend cold civilities in a patronizing form, or pass by on the other side, because we are associated with the Colored people. Could, or would they see the importance of our mission in the light of the Gospel, and the example of Christ, they would no doubt, think and feel differently, but the scales of a stubborn prejudice is not yet fallen from their eyes.

But we thank the Lord that we have no worldly policy to consult, or compromises to make— but to give ourselves wholly to the work— our lives even, if God wills it, that we may have it to say we “have done what we could.”

We have about a dozen Catholics in our schools;¹⁴ two of them young men, have lately ventured to our Church and sab. school. There are many Catholics here, some descendants of the Spanish who first settled here, and many Curious old relics of those times.

The climate is delightful, and boquets of flowers come in to me fresh from the gardens almost every day. My health is very good and I find my strength equal to my work.

The Freedman's Relief Assn. have four good teachers here and two schools; one primary, and one advanced— two teachers at each— all ladies. They are kept in the Meth. Col. Church, one session each in a day. They are doing well.

Yours truly, [Mrs.] H. B. Greely

Jacksonville, Florida Feb. 4th, 1865

Rev. S. S. Jocelyn¹⁵

Dear Sir,

. . . We have some very cold weather & have not been able to get a stove, but have gone every day to school, & when it was very cold we have had some general exercises, then dismissed them, for the little creatures were not dressed very warm, and

14. Most AMA teachers were evangelical Protestants and were anti-Catholic. The association was very concerned with preventing the Catholic Church from gaining a following among former slaves. Some of the teachers, it seemed, would have preferred that black children remain uneducated rather than be trained by Catholics.

15. The Reverend S. S. Jocelyn assisted Whipple in his duties as corresponding secretary from 1853 to 1864.

would shiver with the cold, but they could not bear to give up a lesson, and all were willing to stay & shiver till they said their lesson. . . . I felt sorry to dismiss them without a full lesson they are so anxious for it. There has only been two days but what we have given them part of a lesson, *then* the thermometer was down to 30 before sun rise, the coldest weather we have had. . . . We have nearly 200 scholars & have been obliged to divide the school having the primary department in the forenoon the others in the afternoon, for there is too many for one room. Some of them are very good readers & all are anxious to be so. One woman, over 60 years, just beginning to spell, seems as if she could not think of any thing but her book, says she spells her lesson all the evening, then she dreams about it, & wakes up thinking about it. Her husband is a good old saint, over 80 years. They were slaves & all their children are slaves; their master left *them* to take care of the house, & went off with their children, when our people came. She has heard from them since, that her master is very much in want, & she fears her children are suffering for food. We love to go there, they are so tidy & clean; not because they are any different from the others by nature but, because they are used to being tidy. The others who are so filthy in their habits, have always been driven almost to death with work & all the time they had from work, which was very little they took for rest; and can we expect them to go suddenly from that manner of life and become neat thrifty housekeepers? It will take time, perhaps till the next generation. I think they do as well— perhaps better— than any other class of people under the same circumstances.

In our visit one day, among the colored people, we came across a white woman, living in a car & we have never seen a colored person more degraded in appearance than she. The car and her person looked any thing but tidy. She had a fire in an iron basin, & the only place for the smoke to go out was the door. We spoke kindly to her, & tried to encourage her to clean up & go to school & learn to live like other folks. She promised to come to our school. She did not come & we called on her again; she said it was too cold, but she *was* coming. She may come, but I doubt it. I could not help thinking it is not the color of their skin, that makes any one degraded, but their

habits. If people are crushed down all their lives by the heel of oppression, can we expect them to rise all of a sudden & be a bright intelligent class of community, without even the dust of their past conditions clinging to them. A great many of them do shake it off, & get up *brighter* than would be expected. The jewels are here, & we have an interesting work to polish them up for this world, & I hope, for the world to come. The poor whites seem to be as much— or more— degraded & in need than the colored people, for the latter are not afraid to work, the others have always thought work degrading; & even now it seems as if they would starve rather than work. There is a hope that when slavery is really dead, & the spirit of caste is banished, they may arise & be equal to the colored people.

We are all well at present & send our kind regards to you & all our friends. If our school increases in interest, which no doubt it will, you will hear again from your unworthy laborer.

E. B. Eveleth

St. Augustine, Fla. April 29, 1865

Rev. G. Whipple, Cor. Sec. A.M.A.

Dear Sir:

Owing to the peculiarities of our situation the jubilant echoes of the loyal heart of the Country had time to pass away before the good news of Lee's Surrender reached this end of the earth. But this week, our hearts too, were made to rejoice at Glorious intelligence, and the Freedmen of this place seemed to feel doubly sure of their freedom while their old task-masters, especially mistresses, seemed to feel for the first time that there were signs of wo, and that all was lost! And they wept and groaned saying, we shall never have our Niggers back again. But when the news of the President's death came two or three days after, they took heart again, taunting the colored people about their dark prospect of being free, and some of our people began to talk of going North to escape enslavement again, for as Massa Lincoln was gone, they feared their hope was gone too. But their confidence settled back again into the strong arms of their God, which they said, was above all, and they would trust him to carry their cause through. . . .

The scholars were progressing finely till the time for pre-

paring the ground and planting came on about the last of March, when they nearly all took to the field. Until now their fields, together with the family cares of the women have required about all their time; yet as a general thing they have kept their books with them and studied when they could, and come in occasionally for recitation. I think while none have really gone back in the time, some have made advancement. I thought there might be a little truth in a remark made by one pupil the other evening when hearing another read. He says "I don't wonder E. learns so fast and reads so well, for while she sits in the field watching the crows, she minds her book so hard they come and eat up her corn." But the corn now having got pretty much out of the way of weeds and birds, they expect now to be back again soon to their usual course of instruction. . . .

Yours truly,
[Mrs.] H. B. Greely

Jacksonville Nov 22/67

Rev. E. P. Smith¹⁶

Dear Sir

You see I am still in J— for my school house is not yet built. Mr. Ellison was in town this week, and says they will commence it on Monday and finish it Friday, so you can have some idea of the extent of the building. But I do not believe you have any idea how the "poor" whites or "crackers" as they are generally called— live, it is very different from the poor at the North. I will tell you my interview with Mr. Ellison and you can form some idea of my prospects. I was here over a week before he knew it, though I sent word by one of his neighbors but our landlord said "perhaps he got drunk and forgot to tell him" then I wrote a letter and thought after I had written it Mr. Ellison could not read it, and I doubt whether any of them can. But he came in to see if a teacher had arrived, said he had been in four times. . . . He walks in as his horse is lame, and it is the only one in the settlement.

16. In 1866, in order to expedite collection of funds and to send teachers and supplies South, the association appointed district secretaries with headquarters in Boston, Cincinnati, and Chicago. The Reverend E. P. Smith was the district secretary for Cincinnati. Later he became general field agent.

The landlord of the Union House— where I am stopping at present,— is a southern man and knows all about them, and has been trying to discourage me from going there. . . .

When Mr. E. came to the house the landlord came to our room and said “your school committee is here. . . .” So we went down and there was a tall slender man with long uncombed hair, dirty ragged clothes, his pants looked as if they were dropping off, his mouth full of tobacco but he had an honest open countenance which I rather liked, and attributed his other appearances to poverty and ignorance, for which *he* was not to blame. Asked, if he was the man with whom I was to board, He said yes if I did not “board round,” told him I would rather board in one place, for it would be some trouble to move my things so often. He said, “We are mighty poor people, we cant give you fine things.” I said “good plain food is more wholesome,” he said “We have potatoes, hominy, and meat.” I thought “well potatoes and salt are good and the meat I suppose is pork a little of that when there is no butter will do very well.” Asked him if they had tea or coffee, he said “No because we have no sweetening, we are poor and cant get nice things.” I thought, “well cold water is good and perhaps it will be better for me.” Then I felt anxious to know what kind of a room I should have, and asked what was the size of his house, how many rooms there were, he said “there is only one room.” I said one room? why where do you sleep? he said “we sleep, eat, and cook in that.” I thought, oh horror— what shall I do now, the idea of sleeping with a whole family and visitors. . . . I am afraid my philanthropy will stagger here and said “why that is not right— we dont do so at the North, he said “we are poor and cant do any better.” I said you should put up partitions, cant you make a room for me? he said yes, but he must do the schoolhouse first. I said, then I can sleep in the schoolhouse till the room is finished. Asked how far it would be from his house, he said a mile and half. I thought over a mile from a house in the woods all alone at night shall I be afraid? no the Lord will be with me, he has promised to protect his people if they trust him and I feel that He has brought me thus far in this mission, and He will be with me. What a comfort it is to have such a

friend to trust in. Pray for me that my faith may be strengthened.¹⁷

My friends here advise me to take some stores out there with me, tea, sugar, crackers, &c for they say I would not have strength to do much if I lived on potatoes and hominy alone. Then I shall need a little stove, think I can get a little box stove here for five dollars. . . .

Yours truly
E B Eveleth

Apalachicola Fla
April 10th 1867

Rev. E. P. Smith,

Secy. for Mid West A.M.A. Cin., O.

Dear Sir,

Will you be kind enough to inform me as early as practicable on what terms your association would furnish a female teacher to take charge of a colored school in this place. I say female because I suppose they can be had on cheaper terms. We have never had a good school here. Except for a short space of time. We have had schools here but very poor ones. Then the prices were so high that many were not able to send their children. The prices has been all the while 1.50 per month. We have never had any aid here in schools. Have heard of a greadeal in other places but none here. We wish a Day and Night School also. Please write and let me know the terms. When one could be sent, how many scholars she could take, and how much and how we would have to pay. We have plodded along this far, the best we could. Some children has leant some, but far behind all other parts we hear of. We expect and are willing to pay some. But wish to know if you will aid us some, and to what extent. Very true the state of Florida has passed an act to establish schools for us. What they have done in other parts, we do not know. But they have never gave us here any benefit of that act. hoping that I may hear from you soon. Good teachers in these parts will not teach colored people and if they did,

17. Miss Eveleth never taught in the school that was to be built by Ellison. After waiting several weeks, she went to Magnolia, Florida, to teach in an orphan asylum for black youth. E. B. Eveleth to E. P. Smith, December 2, 1867; February 26, 1868, American Missionary Association Archives.

the scarcity of money would not enable us to pay them. This is the first application that has been made to any source for help since we have been free. But have been doing the best we could. Please let me know what can be done.

Yours most Respectfully
Emanuel Smith¹⁸

Jacksonville Dec. 30th, 1868

Rev. E. P. Smith

Dear Sir:

Suppose I must write a few lines, to let you know we are in existance & trying to do all we can for this people. But I don't know how to take the time, we are so busy drilling our children for New Year's day— which you know is a great day with them. We are teaching them dialogues, speeches, & songs, and as we have very little printed matter to select from,— our bible & hymn book being about all we have, we are obliged to compose & remodel all the pieces they have. There has no paper reached us since we came here & we are most starved for some news. When your letters came with the checks in them, saying you had mailed some “easy lessons” for us we said “well they will surely put in the last Magazine, so we shall have something to read” you can judge of our disappointment when we opened it & found nothing but, “ox, my ox, it is my ox.” We were glad for the children, and put a class in them at once. You at the North who are flooded with news do not seem to realize how we feel, knowing nothing that is going on in the world, only just around us. We know there is great injustice. If a colored person commits a murder he is brought to justice just as he should be. There are three in this place under sentence of death for one murder. There has been 18 murders in this county & vicinity in six months, mostly Republicans. But a white murderer cannot be arrested, because he is protected and secreted by Southerners. There is one at large now who is known, and a white lady— shall I call her lady, she passes for one— has been heard to say “the Yankees

18. Smith was one of many black men who wrote the AMA asking for assistance in finding a teacher or starting a school. Unfortunately the association gave no monetary aid. While the association, other societies, and the Freedmen's Bureau established scores of schools in Florida, there were many areas where there were no schools for black children as late as the 1870s.

cant get Mr. Bailey they would like to get him, & string him up, but we will protect him, & hide him from them." I hope when *Grant* gets to work, we shall know it by seeing justice on the throne. There is not much justice or humanity among the Southerners. Some of the parents of our children have told us how they have been employed by Southerners, to work on their farms & they would not pay them in money, but told them to go to the store & get what they wanted on their account. The freedmen, not realizing the price of articles, would draw all their wages— sometimes more before they were due thus keeping them behind hand all the time— which pleases their enemys— for they have not been in the habit of handling money & economizing. . . . Some pay them in produce, charging what they please, taking care to have the account come out even at the end of the year, or else in their debt. So that the freedmen will be kept down till they are educated to stand up for their rights & not be imposed upon. . . .

Yours truly
E B Eveleth

Gainesville Feb. 25th 1871

Rev. E M Cravath¹⁹

Dear Sir

Suppose reports of the doings and progress of schools for freedmen are always acceptable to the AMA so I will say a few words respecting our little branch of the great influence that is working in the south & will be felt at the north for when you set a light in a dark place it is seen & felt & what could have been more dark than the system of slavery. Many of those old church goers still cling to their heathenish habits such as shouting & thinking the more noise & motion they have the better Christians they are. We speak against it in the school & bible class & we can see the effect of our teaching. We dont expect to do much for the old ones but if the light of truth shines around them it may help a little. One Sabbath they had a funeral sermon. The chief mourners had a seat in front of the pulpit & seemed to think they could not show their grief

19. Reverend E. M. Cravath was AMA district secretary in Cincinnati, 1866-1870, before becoming field secretary in 1870. He resigned his position to become president of Fisk University.

for the departed but by letting it be seen & heard. In the midst of the sermon one woman jumped up clapped her hands, threw them over her head screaming "glory to God" jumping as high as she could dancing up & down in front of the pulpit, then whirl around like a top & throw herself into her seat. Soon another would get up & do the same. The minister took no notice of them, he has just been sent here from the Methodist Conference. We asked him after church what he thought of such things, said he did not like it, but as he had just come did not like to speak against it. Told him we were not afraid & should speak our minds,²⁰ said he hoped we would & he would come in by degrees. Our lesson that day in the bible class was Luke 10, 38-42. We told them Mary & Martha represented two classes of christians. Mary shows her love by sitting humbly & quietly hearing all she could of Jesus while Martha showed hers by blustering around & making a great display so that Jesus could see she was doing something for him. But Jesus rebuked her & approved of Mary & those who show their love by making a great noise & showing their power of motion will not be accepted, &c. One man as he was going out said "you have given us a good sermon today," his wife is one of the shouters & does not attend the bible class. We hope the light that is in him, will shine into her heart. Some have given it up & none of them will shout when we are present. Our cook said to one of them "If you think it is praising God to shout why dont you praise him before the teachers, if I was doing anything for God I would not let any one stop me." We hope they began to see the folly of such things & that our labor is not in vain. Our temperance society is not standing still, the leaven is spreading, not only in this town, but the surrounding ones. Some of our members have branched off & are true to their pledge, working for the cause. I hope every teacher among the freedmen- & others too- will put forth every effort in the cause of temperance for

20. AMA teachers taught religion in the classroom. The Bible was frequently used as a text, and classes were sometimes postponed for prayer meetings. Nearly all AMA teachers taught Sabbath schools. If they were not invited to black churches, services were held at school. Some teachers were offended by loud, emotional religious services and tried to get the blacks to change their methods of worship. Despite their dedication to freedmen many of the teachers exhibited a lack of understanding of black religious history.

knowledge & religion cannot triumph without it. The freedmen, as a general thing are poor but they spend a great deal for liquor & tobacco which keeps them poor & those who use it think they must have it at all hazards even if their families suffer for the necessities of life so that we cannot be too earnest for their temporal & spiritual welfare.

Yours truly

E B Eveleth

Mission Home, St. Augustine

Oct. 6th 1871

Rev. E. M. Cravath,

Dear Friend:

We had a safe & pleasant journey & received a most cordial welcome from friends both white & colored. Mr. Howard, our col. minister, said he had been praying for my return ever since I left. No wonder I came. He and others had dug a trench to drain the lot which was full of water, cleaned the school house and planted some trees in the yard. I found the house in good condition, although many have been injured by the severe storms of wind and rain which have been frequent for a month past. We have the prospect of a large school. . . .

I forgot to ask you about Bibles. I am very anxious to have one for each desk. I have so many Catholic scholars I should not think it wise to give them to the pupils now: but I find they are very anxious to have them. I would like a bible lesson at least once a week. If you have any to spare I should like about fifty. If you cannot send bibles I would like testaments. I have ordered groceries with Miss Mather's & they might be sent together by schooner.²¹ I should like six boxes of chalk also. I forgot to pay for the book (Abbott's Teacher) you purchased for me, & enclose the amt. \$1.25. I am greatly obliged for it & all your & Miss Cook's kindness.

Yours Truly

C M Semple

P. S. I find the col. people have had a hard time during the

21. AMA representatives in Florida often ordered dry goods and non-perishable food from New York. Even with the cost of transportation, they still got cheaper products than could be purchased locally.

summer. There seems to be nothing to do. Quite a no. of my best scholars are unable to go to S. School for want of clothes.

Gainesville, Fla. Oct. 29th 1872

Rev. E. M. Cravath

Dear Sir:

. . . We reached our home the first of Oct. & began school the next day, with a very small number for it was in the midst of cotton picking, which takes a great many hands. . . . Our school is increasing every day & we hope to get our usual number. Have been trying to get the children to bring money— five cents each— to get brooms, bucket &c. for the school house. We have always done that ourselves, but we feel too poor this year, have not been paid yet for the last term of schooling. It is hard work to get it out of the children, they always feel so poor, & most of them are very poor but these things are for their convenience & they must learn to help themselves. Hope some of the benevolent people will think of us this year when they are making up their missionary boxes, for we are truly doing missionary work & a little help will be thankfully received by us & by the field people. But we tremble when we think what it *will* be, if the democrats get into power, which I hope the Lord will prevent. We know what they *have* done when in power & we have no reason to think they are any better now. It is only a few years since the whipping post was taken from the front of the courthouse in this place. The law— which is down in black & white— is that if a colored man steal a chicken he shall be whipped & one who has been whipped shall be disfranchised. In that way they would deprive the colored man of his vote. And if a *colored* man could not pay his taxes he would be sold for a year & his children till they were twenty one, &c.²² These one sided laws were made since the war when the democrats were in power, & there are men in this place who helped to get them up, & they *pretend* to be great friends to the colored people, but let them get into power again and these laws would be enforced, *then* the colored man would find, to his sorrow who were his friends. The Lord protect us from such tyranny is the prayer

22. Miss Eveleth was speaking of the black codes passed in 1866 which had been inoperative for several years.

of yours truly

E B Eveleth

Gainesville, Fla.

Jan 31st, 1873

Rev. E. M. Cravath

Dear Sir

We have a large number of scholars but the average attendance is not what we could wish. There are so many that come a few weeks, then get a job of work and leave. . . . Some of our smartest scholars are hired out to southern people who promise to send them to school, but are not particular to get them off early, and if they have any thing they wish done they keep them out all day. We try every means in our power to keep them in school and to make them punctual. There are some we can rely upon for the whole school year and they are the ones that encourage us. If all the colored families were like Mr. Johnson we could give a better report. He has nine children in school and he will not let any thing keep them out. He is not a rich man but gets his living by the sweat of his brow. He has bought some land, and built a house upon it, and the children work the land when they are out of school, they do not lose a moment of time, for they often snatch their breakfast in their hand when the bell rings and eat it on the road to school. They are always punctual and present. Mr. Johnson has a brother who is just the opposite to him, he has several children in school but they are sometimes tardy and very often absent, they dont seem to see out of the same eyes for while one sees his children occupying high places in society, the other sees his children with bags of gold. As a general thing the colored people are anxious for their children to have an education but they dont realize how much study and perseverance it requires to get it. . . .

We are very much pleased with the organ. The friends on whom we rely to raise the money are at the legislature in Tallahassee. When they return we will try to send it. Inclosed you will find a P O order for ten dollars, collected in our Sabbath school. Please use it for any object that is most needed & oblige yours truly

E B Eveleth

JOSÉ ALEJANDRO HUAU: A CUBAN PATRIOT IN JACKSONVILLE POLITICS

by GUSTAVO J. GODOY*

ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON, April 9, 1905, the long funeral procession of José Alejandro Huau moved at a slow pace to the Old City Cemetery in East Jacksonville, Florida. United States Senator James P. Taliaferro, the former Jacksonville mayor, Judge Morris A. Dzialynski, and a large entourage of dignitaries, honorary pall bearers, and other mourners rode in the flag-draped carriages. Many people came on foot. The procession included a large Masonic honor guard. A huge array of floral wreaths surrounded the burial site, as Jacksonville lamented the loss of one of its most esteemed citizens.

Huau, the eldest of the four children of José Hipólito Huau, an American of French ancestry, and his Cuban wife, María Florencia Salaver, was born in Matanzas, district of Pueblo Nuevo, sixty-three miles east of Havana, on April 6, 1836.¹ There he spent the first eighteen years of his life. Then, in 1854, he left Cuba to visit the country of his father's birth. He stayed one year in Norwich, Connecticut, learning English, and four years

* Mr. Godoy is associate professor of Spanish, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville.

1. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 6, 10, 1905. José Hipólito Huau was born in Baltimore, Maryland, December 19, 1809, the son of José Huau, a dentist of French descent, and of Catalina Cadoret. Act of marriage of José Hipólito Huau, Parish of San Juan Bautista de Pueblo Nuevo, Matanzas, Cuba, First Book of Marriages of Whites, p. 35. In 1810 the Huaus lived at 36 Water Street, Baltimore. William Fry, *The Baltimore Directory for 1810* (Baltimore, 1810), 98. The family moved to Havana in 1816. On April 21, 1835, in Matanzas, José Hipólito married María Florencia Salaver, a Cuban, the daughter of Luis Salaver and María del Pilar Núñez. In 1843 he graduated as a medical doctor from the University of Havana, and went to Paris to continue his studies for three years. Upon his return to Cuba he received an appointment as chief surgeon at the Matanzas Hospital. He became a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Havana. José Hipólito Huau died in Jacksonville on January 5, 1899, and is buried beside his son, José Alejandro. The author is grateful to Joseph Hall Capers of Jacksonville, Huau's grandson, for many biographical details incorporated in this article.

in New York, where he studied civil and mechanical engineering. Huau returned to Cuba at the age of twenty-three, and spent the next decade working for the Matanzas railroad. When his first wife, about whom little is known, died, Huau married Catalina Miralles. Their first son, Louie, was born on August 25, 1868.²

On October 10, 1868, when the first of Cuba's three wars for independence— the Ten-Year War— began, Huau became a member of the Matanzas Revolutionary Committee. Taken prisoner as a result of his activities, Huau was first confined in Havana's Morro Castle, and was then expelled in 1869 to the United States by the Spanish authorities. He was in Baltimore, his father's birthplace, a short while, and then went to Paterson, New Jersey, where he found employment for one year at the Roger Locomotive Works. In 1870 he moved to Jacksonville, and lived there the remainder of his life.

Other Cuban emigres were already in Jacksonville, and others moved in during the next several years, including members of Huau's immediate family. His brother Francisco remained in Cuba, but Matilde, the elder of his two sisters, and her husband, Henry M. Fritot, settled in Jacksonville. Enriqueta, Huau's younger sister, married Gabriel Hildalgo-Gato in Jacksonville on April 24, 1874. His father, a lung specialist, arrived in 1872, and practiced medicine for several years in his office on the second floor of the building at 31½ East Bay Street.

José Alejandro first found a job with the Florida Central Railway, but in 1874 he began operating a sawmill in the first block of Washington Street in East Jacksonville. Shortly afterwards, he established a tobacco factory in partnership with his brother-in-law Henry M. Fritot. This second business prospered, and after only a few months Huau sold the sawmill and concentrated all his time in the cigar factory.

On November 23, 1875, Huau became a naturalized American citizen. His naturalization certificate described him as being

2. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 6, 1905; Wanton S. Webb, ed., *Webb's Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida* (New York, 1885), 151. José Alejandro Huau's first wife died while still a young woman and there were no children. Catalina Miralles was born in Camaguey, Cuba, March 9, 1848, and died in Jacksonville on January 20, 1930. Joseph Hall Capers; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 21, 1930.

short-five feet five inches in height— with brown eyes, full-faced straight profile, dark complexion and hair, and a short double-chin.³ Ralph D. Paine, a native of Jacksonville, who as a boy frequented the soda fountain Huau had set up adjacent to his tobacco shop on the corner of West Bay and Main streets, remembered him as a gentle, benevolent, and mild-mannered man with a very quick mind.⁴

The partnership between Huau and his brother-in-law lasted two years. Then Fritot sold his share to Huau, who conducted the business under the name, “Huau & Co.” Later Huau changed the firm’s name to “C. M. de Huau and Co.,” using his wife’s initials – Catalina Miralles– and the Spanish appellation “de.” He chose “El Esmero” for the Huau cigar brand name.

The company was first located in the Holmes Block, but expansion forced it to move in 1880 to the Abell Block, 32-40 West Bay Street, and to utilize also an annex on the corner of West Bay and Pine (now Main) streets. The second floor of the three-story building contained the office and box and storage rooms. The third floor housed all manufacturing, with separate departments for stripping, sorting, and packing. Stores, including a tobacco shop, were on the ground floor. The factory employed 125-150 persons and produced 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 cigars annually. Huau’s stock and fixtures were valued at about \$100,000, and it was estimated that the company’s annual sales reached \$200,000. Huau’s well-stocked cigar store was one of the finest in the city. It employed two clerks and did an annual business of \$20,000. Joseph F. Forns, formerly of Baltimore, served as Huau’s Jacksonville manager.⁵

In 1882 Huau established a branch in Key West, but he closed it three years later to concentrate all his efforts in Jacksonville. The city in 1884 contained fourteen cigar factories. El

3. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 6, 1905; Webb, *Webb’s Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida*, 151; Joseph Hall Capers; U. S. Department of State, certificate of naturalization, no. 48080, November 23, 1875, in possession of Mr. Capers.

4. Ralph D. Paine, *Roads of Adventure* (New York, 1922), 64, 65, 154, 173, 175.

5. Joseph Hall Capers; Webb, *Webb’s Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida*, 151. Ten years later, the factory was located in the Fairfield section of the city, northeast of the Old City Cemetery, at 81 Palmetto Street. George T. Belding, comp., *Florida Railroad Gazetteer and State Business Directory, 1895* (Atlanta, 1895), 147.

Modelo, the largest in Florida and managed by Huau's brother-in-law Gabriel Hidalgo-Gato, employed 225 people.⁶ By the 1880s Jacksonville's Cuban community consisted of several hundred persons, most of whom worked in the cigar factories. Wages ranged from \$9.00 to \$35.00 per week, depending upon the skill of the worker.⁷

Besides his business activities, Huau also became involved in Jacksonville politics. On April 5, 1881, he was elected to the city council for a two-year term by a margin of 557 votes.⁸ He won reelection for three more terms— in 1883, 1885, and 1893— each time receiving the largest number of votes of any candidate in the race. While a councilman, Huau served as a member of several important standing committees and played a leadership role in city affairs. On April 3, 1883, Councilman George DeCottes nominated him for the position of temporary president of the council, but Huau declined, suggesting instead that DeCottes be named.⁹

Although defeated in the April 1887 election, the strong friendships Huau had formed with local and county politicians would prove very helpful in his support of the Cuban revolutionary cause which became so important in the next few years. Among his closest friends and associates were Napoleon B. Broward, later governor of Florida; John M. Barrs, Jacksonville city attorney; and George A. DeCottes, fellow councilman and prominent businessman.

Council minutes reveal Huau's many interests in the affairs and needs of the community. He supported a variety of social welfare programs: ordinances making it unlawful to treat

6. The factory building stood on the northeast corner of West Bay and Clay streets.

7. This situation changed after 1902 when Cuba obtained its independence and many Cubans living in the United States decided to return to the island. In 1905 only forty-two Cuban men and twenty-five women resided in Duval County. Thus, Jacksonville's Cuban population ranked behind those of both Tampa (4,888 persons) and Key West (817 persons). Jacksonville had eleven cigar manufacturing establishments in 1905. Those employed sixty-six men, fourteen women, and seventeen children below the age of sixteen. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Third Census of the State of Florida, Taken in the Year 1905* (Tallahassee, 1906), 112, 113, table no. 4.

8. Minutes of the Jacksonville City Council, April 5, 1881, Book DD, no. 3, 300, 302, City Hall, Jacksonville.

9. Ibid., April 3, 1883, Book DD, no. 3, 536-37.

animals cruelly; quarantine measures to check yellow fever epidemics; building a public hospital and a public market; repairing, paving, and lighting streets; improving sanitary conditions, fire protection, water and gas supplies, ferry services, and telephone communications; and cleaning up and beautifying the city's cemetery and parks.¹⁰ In December 1887 he was named to the election committee presided over by Jaquelin Daniel which had the responsibility of organizing the machinery for the election of new city officers.¹¹ Huau's participation in Duval County politics pushed him to the forefront as one of Florida's most prominent Cubans.

Even as Huau and other members of the Cuban colony in Jacksonville solidified their positions in the community, events had begun in Cuba which would lead to the island's third war for independence and its final emergence as a nation. On December 23, 1891, José Martí, apostle of Cuba's freedom movement, came to Jacksonville.¹² This constituted the first of eight visits to the community for the purpose of stirring up enthusiasm and of securing financial support. Although the records are not explicit, it seems likely that Huau played a major role in arranging Martí's appearances in Jacksonville. Perhaps he entertained Martí in his home, located at 147 Main Street near the corner of Union. In 1892 Martí founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party for which Huau would later act as sub-agent in Jacksonville. The two men were good friends.

Martí returned to Jacksonville July 23, 1892, and the following night he spoke at a mass meeting in L'Engle Hall. Approximately 1,500 Cubans, many Spaniards, and numerous Americans enthusiastically applauded his passionate appeal. One

10. *Ibid.*, Book DD, no. 3, 313, 340, 349, 378, 461, 463, 632, 659, 662, 676, 680, 691, 694-95, 710, 712, 723, 725, 727, 729, 738, 754; Book EE, no. 4, 18, 38, 90-91, 124, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 141, 153, 195-97, 211-14, 228-29, 235, 238, 241, 279, 281, 282, 307-08, 330-31, 336, 349-59, 370, 375, 376, 396.

11. Richard A. Martin, *The City Makers* (Jacksonville, 1972), 189.

12. José Martí (1853-1895) spent his short life attempting to free his homeland from Spain. Patriot, poet, essayist, orator, Martí lived in exile in New York for fifteen years. His voluminous literary works make him one of the most original stylists of the Spanish language. Founder of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, his extraordinary personality was able to unite the Cubans and to launch the War of Independence (1895-1898) against Spain, at the beginning of which he was killed in action.

prominent Cuban living in Jacksonville reported at this rally that the Cuban patriotic movement in the city was very strong and that its social club was flourishing. September 1892 witnessed the organization of a "Cuban Political Club" in Jacksonville in which Huau played an active part.

Martí's third and fourth trips to Jacksonville came September 16 and December 23, 1893. On the latter visit he made a speech at El Modelo, the factory owned by Huau's brother-in-law, Gabriel Hidalgo-Gato.¹³ Martí described this event in *Patria*, the official organ of the Cuban Revolutionary Party which he published periodically in New York: "The Club could not assemble on that busy Saturday, but the Cubans from 'El Modelo', Gato's cigar factory, rewarded with applauses of unaccustomed warmth, the Delegate who spoke to them about those things that irritate selfish men but please generous souls."¹⁴

Three times during 1894 Martí came again to Jacksonville: May 14, May 27, when he spoke at a rally in L'Engle Hall, and October 8. Huau was involved in the planning and arrangements. He had become increasingly active in the Cuban revolutionary movement, and was now considered one of its leaders in Florida. In the rear of his cigar store, Cubans gathered from time to time.¹⁵ These sometimes included General Emilio Núñez, who headed the Department of Expeditions during the Cuban War for Independence, and Alfonso W. Fritot, Huau's nephew and his most enthusiastic collaborator. The purpose was to raise funds and to organize secret expeditions for Cuba. Since the United States was still resolved to maintain its role of neutrality, these meetings were illegal and had to be clandestine. Others who were often present were Napoleon B. Broward and his brother Montcalm, owners along with George DeCottes of the sea-going tug *Three Friends*; attorney John M. Barrs; W. A. Bisbee, owner of the *Dauntless*, and John "Dynamite" O'Brien, its daring captain.

Jacksonville was one of the major centers of Cuban revolutionary activity in Florida. After much effort and long prepara-

13. Luis García Pascual, "Por la senda del Apóstol," *Anuario Martiano*, III (1971), 294.

14. Author's translation, from Carlos Ripoll, ed., *Escritos Desconocidos de José Martí* (New York, 1971), 112.

15. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950), 99.

tions by José Martí, Huau, and others, a three-ship flotilla was prepared to leave Fernandina, thirty-six miles north of Jacksonville, on January 18, 1895, for Cuba. The vessels, which would carry Martí, his top military chiefs, a detachment of soldiers, 800 rifles, and 600,000 rounds of ammunition, never left port.¹⁶ When a United States Treasury agent learned of the plans, he prevented the departure. The news of the aborted expedition spread quickly, and in Jacksonville the disappointed Cubans poured into the streets shouting: "The traitor of Fernandina! May a thunderbolt strike him!" Fortunately, Huau managed to intercede with Colonel James Buchanan Anderson, inspector general of state troops in Florida, who prevented the confiscation of the rifles and ammunition.¹⁷ To assess the situation and to confer with his advisors, Martí returned to Jacksonville for his eighth and last visit on January 13, 1895. He stayed in a modest room in the Travelers Hotel, at the northwest corner of Bay and Cedar streets.¹⁸

Huau's cigar manufacturing business and his cigar store continued to prosper. He had a good manager, and this allowed him the time to organize expeditions, charter boats, and purchase arms, ammunition, food, and medicine for the beleaguered Cubans fighting for their independence. Camouflaged cases containing arms arrived at Jacksonville consigned to Huau, and he and his nephew, Alfonso W. Fritot, supervised their transit to the chartered boats, where they were quickly loaded aboard.¹⁹ The houses and places of business of both Huau and Fritot were under constant surveillance, thanks to the efforts of Spanish spies and as many as nineteen Pinkerton detectives hired by the Spanish ambassador. Enrique de Mariátegui, and later Juan Potous, successively Spanish vice-consuls in Jacksonville, had been ordered to watch carefully the activities of all revolutionaries, but particularly Huau and Fritot.

16. Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain* (Boston, 1931), 25.

17. Manuel Deulofeu Leonart, *Martí, Cayo Hueso y Tampa; la emigración, notas históricas* (Cienfuegos, Cuba, 1905), 277.

18. The Travelers Hotel, built in 1889-1890, stood at 407-409 West Bay Street. In 1895 its owner was Dorsey C. Andress, who had purchased it two years earlier from Burton K. Barrs, a brother of Huau's friend John M. Barrs. The Greyhound Bus Terminal is now (1975) located on this site.

19. Scrapbook belonging to Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, III, Fort George Island, Florida.

On April 5, 1895, the day before his fifty-ninth birthday, Huau attended a large Cuban rally at Metropolitan Hall in Jacksonville. The 800 persons present included Jacksonville Mayor Duncan U. Fletcher, United States District Attorney Frank Clark, Postmaster Harrison W. Clark, City Attorney John M. Barrs, and Judge H. Cromwell Gibbons. The meeting adopted a resolution calling for aid for the Cubans under arms and for the federal government to grant belligerent status to the revolutionaries.²⁰ Through Huau's influence, the Jacksonville Board of Trade on September 11, 1895, unanimously passed a resolution likewise urging belligerent recognition.²¹

A few days later, on October 1, Huau became sub-agent in Jacksonville for the Cuban Revolutionary Party, and thus became its official representative in the city.²² At a February 1896 meeting in Huau's cigar factory the Cuban patriots arranged to charter the *Three Friends* from Napoleon Broward and his associates to carry filibustering expeditions to Cuba. Those present at that meeting, besides Huau and Broward, included C. P. Barnard of Tampa, John M. Barrs, and two Cubans named Hernández and Freeman.²³ For \$10,000 the owners of the *Three Friends* agreed to transport a company of patriots under the command of General Enrique Collazo, and to tow war supplies, which had been loaded aboard the schooner *Stephen R. Mallory* of Cedar Key, to Cuba.²⁴ The voyage, as it turned out, proved perilous but successful, and it encouraged Broward and his associates to continue their filibustering operations.

Gonzalo de Quesada, secretary, and Benjamin Guerra, treasurer, of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, arrived in Jacksonville on Thursday, July 30, 1896, to confer with Huau and other influential Cubans. On August 10, at a reception attended by 150 persons at the former Metropolitan Light Infantry

20. *New York Times*, April 5, 1895; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 5, 1895.

21. For a discussion of belligerent status, the Cleveland administration, the Cuban revolutionaries, and their Florida sympathizers, see Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward*, 96-137.

22. León Primelles, ed., *La Revolución del 95, Según la Correspondencia de la Delegación Cubana en Nueva York* (Havana, 1932), II, 78.

23. Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward*, 100.

24. *Ibid.*, 100-01.

Armory, Huau's nephew, William Hidalgo-Gato, was elected as one of the directors of the new Cuban Circle of Jacksonville.²⁵

These revolutionary activities in the city were obvious to the Spanish authorities. Little effort was made to keep them secret. Juan Potous, vice-consul in Jacksonville, notified Pedro Solis, Spanish consul for Florida with headquarters in Tampa, of all that was happening. Enrique Dupuy de Lome, Spanish minister in Washington, made a formal protest to the American government, and the treasury department in September 1896 instructed United States District Attorney Frank Clark to proceed at once against Huau, Broward, Barrs, and Captain William T. Lewis on grounds that the *Three Friends* had violated the neutrality laws of the United States. Papers were served, but nothing very serious ever emerged from these proceedings.

Huau and Napoleon Broward signed a second contract, December 9, 1896, authorizing the *Three Friends* to carry forty men and thirty-five tons of arms and ammunition to Cuba.²⁶ This agreement had been authorized the previous day by Tomás Estrada Palma, the Cuban Revolutionary Party's representative in New York who would later become first president of the Cuban republic. Also in 1896, Huau took part in the delivery of a gem-encrusted sword presented by the American publisher William Randolph Hearst to Generalissimo Máximo Gómez, commander-in-chief of the Liberator Army. Hearst commissioned Ralph D. Paine, who was now a war correspondent for the *New York American*, to deliver the sword. Paine tried to reach Cuba aboard the *Three Friends*, only to be thwarted when a Spanish gunboat intercepted the vessel and he was forced to return to Jacksonville. Paine turned the sword for safe keeping over to Huau, who he had known since childhood. Huau sent it to Señora Gómez in Santo Domingo.²⁷ After the successful conclusion of the war, she carried the sword to her husband in Cuba.²⁸

25. The Cuban Circle was established mainly as a social counterpart to the Cuban Political Club of Jacksonville.

26. Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward*, 125-27, 334-35n.

27. Paine, *Roads of Adventure*, 175.

28. *Ibid.*, Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward*, 335-36n; Ruby Leach Carson, "Florida, Promoter of Cuban Liberty," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (January 1941), 286-87; Benigno Souza, *Máximo Gómez, El Generalísimo* (Havana, 1936), 219.

With the sinking of the U.S.S. *Maine* in February 1898, and the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Cuban residents of Jacksonville supported even more actively the cause which so much involved their homeland and their countrymen. They organized a Cuban fair, April 11-13, 1898, in the John Clark Building. Huau's wife, Catalina Miralles, together with her daughter Catalina and her niece Theresa Fritot, were in charge of the principal table at the affair. Later the same week, the Cubans organized another fair, under the auspices of the Florida Light Infantry Battalion, at the Armory Building. At this event they raised \$250.

For all of these activities associated with the Cuban cause, Huau spent much of his personal fortune.²⁹ His enthusiasm and dedication, however, never wavered. With the end of the war and the evacuation of Spanish troops, he decided to return to Cuba, his newly-liberated native land, where he had lived the first half of his life. Lacking sufficient funds, Huau had to cash in a small life insurance policy, but he was ready to sail in 1900 for the island and the moment he had awaited so long.³⁰ He stayed a few months in Havana, long enough to reestablish contacts with family and friends. Somehow while on the island he secured the capital to set up a branch of his cigar business. By February 1901 he had returned to Jacksonville, and devoted himself again to his family and business. With the inauguration of the Republic of Cuba, May 20, 1902, Huau wanted to be named director of the *Official Gazette*, the only position he had ever sought. The Cuban congress, however, had passed a law requiring that official posts should go only to Cuban citizens. Huau was not willing to renounce his American citizenship.³¹ He did receive some recognition for his services to Cuba; on April 7, 1903, President Estrada Palma appointed him honorary

29. Horatio S. Rubens, *Liberty: The Story of Cuba* (New York, 1932), 280; Mr. Joseph Hall Capers.

30. In 1901 Huau's policy with the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York (no. 280777-A) had a value of only \$400. Since he had two minor children, he could not cash in the insurance without prior judicial authorization. On August 18, 1899, a Duval County judge granted him the necessary permission. Guardianship records, file no. 1105, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville.

31. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 6, 1905.

consul of the Republic of Cuba in Jacksonville, and the Cuban senate approved the nomination on May 9, 1903.³²

In spite of his financial problems and ill-health which had begun to plague him, Cuba continued to attract Huau. He was ill when he visited Havana again early in 1905. He returned to Jacksonville around the middle of March, just three weeks before his death. He died April 4, a victim of "cardiac dropsy," at his home at 1649 Laura Street.³³ His passing came just two days before the sixty-ninth anniversary of his birth.³⁴ On the afternoon of April 9, his many friends and admirers attended a funeral service in the Chapel of St. John's Episcopal Church. It was later revealed that Huau had indeed expended virtually his entire fortune in the cause of Cuban freedom from Spain. The talented and successful businessman and patriot left an estate appraised at only \$500, but he left behind a reputation for loyalty and dedication that has not diminished over the years.³⁵

32. Republic of Cuba, *Official Gazette*, May 22, 1903, I, 3073; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 16, 1903.

33. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 6, 8, 9, 10, 1905. He is buried in lot 76, section 5, near the Hebrew section of the Old City Cemetery bordering Washington Street.

34. Huau had six children: Louie (who died when only ten years old); Flora (who married David M. de Moya, and later Guarino Landa); Henry (who died at the age of twenty-one); Catalina (who married Hall K. Lorraine); José Hipólito or "Polly" (who married Alwys McGavock); and Estela (who married Charles B. Capers). Estela's sons, Joseph Hall Capers and Henry Huau Capers, still reside in Jacksonville. Huau's step-mother, Eliza M. Huau, survived him.

35. Jacksonville Estate Records, file no. 3455, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville.

BOOK REVIEWS

Minorcans in Florida: Their History and Heritage. By Jane Quinn. (St. Augustine: Mission Press, 1975. xiii, 282 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

With the possible exception of Indians and blacks, Minorcans represent the oldest and most cohesive surviving ethnic group in Florida. Several histories have dealt with the settlers at New Smyrna, notably Carita Corse's biography of the proprietor, Andrew Turnbull, and Epaminondas Panagopoulos's *New Smyrna*. Panagopoulos emphasizes the Greek emigrants. Miss Quinn, formerly a resident of St. Augustine and a regular contributor to the *Florida Catholic*, is primarily concerned with the Minorcans and not with the Greeks, Italians, and Sicilians who accompanied them.

Miss Quinn's research in Minorcan archives and her discussion of life and culture in eighteenth-century Minorca—Mahón as well as the countryside—allow the reader to better understand those who emigrated to Florida. The general story of the New Smyrna colony and its failure are well known, but the author poignantly recounts the sufferings and obstacles encountered by the colonists unsuccessfully trying to establish a new settlement. Not as well known is the status of the Minorcans after they deserted New Smyrna and arrived at St. Augustine during the American Revolution. Drawing on the East Florida Papers and other manuscript sources, Miss Quinn discusses in some detail the fate of the Minorcans in St. Augustine for several decades after 1777. This treatment is one of the more rewarding portions of her work. The pious, conscientious Father Pedro Camps, who went with his charges from Minorca to New Smyrna and then to St. Augustine, receives prominent treatment. His statue at the cathedral fronting the plaza, dedicated in 1975, is one of her most appropriate illustrations. Stephen Vincent Benét's ancestors, who accompanied Father Camps to St. Augustine, are also given ample coverage.

This work contains a few factual errors, and one can dispute

some of the author's interpretations. Miss Quinn argues that the Minorcan experience in many ways was unique, but it may well be that their history was not substantially different from that of oppressed Irish, German, Italian, and East European peasantry who migrated to the New World before and after the 1760s. In a surge of Bicentennial enthusiasm, Miss Quinn implies that Minorcans escaping from the New Smyrna tyranny had much in common with George Washington and his contemporaries, though of course the Minorcans were fleeing to the authority and protection of George III and not away from it. A considerable portion of the book deals with a few distinguished Minorcans— primarily Bishops Pellicer and Manucy— in Alabama and Texas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and one would like to know more about what the Minorcans in Florida were up to after 1821.

Though Miss Quinn's book is not necessarily definitive, it represents considerable research, and one acquires a deeper understanding of these Florida immigrants and their culture. For this and a heightened awareness of the Minorcan influence on Florida's history the reader can be grateful.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Eighteenth-Century Florida and Its Borderlands. Edited by Samuel Proctor. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975. xiii, 157 pp. Introduction, symposium participants, notes, maps, illustrations, commentary. \$6.50.)

In this small volume, which contains the papers presented at the first symposium on Florida's role in the American Revolution, ten scholars attempt to fulfill what Professor Paul H. Smith of the Library of Congress has called the purpose of Bicentennial activities: "to stimulate a general rethinking of the Revolution." As is almost invariably the case in such a collection of articles, the quality varies significantly. Most of the papers are well-researched and well-written and provide needed impetus for additional work, while a few are weak and disappointing. Professor Samuel Proctor and the University Presses of Florida have combined their abilities to produce a well-edited and attractive

volume. Particularly noteworthy is the extensive publication of maps, charts, and illustrations to augment the written commentary.

To undertake to explore "eighteenth-century Florida and its borderlands" in a 157-page book is obviously an ambitious undertaking and has allowed for a wide diversity of topics. In the first session of the symposium Professor John J. TePaske, Duke University, analyzes the role of runaway slaves and Spanish slave policy in the international rivalry between English South Carolina and Spanish St. Augustine. Attempting to show that Spanish encouragement increased the volume of runaway slave traffic and the subsequent effect that traffic had on Spanish slave policy, he concludes, "the evidence seems to demonstrate that blacks had more human dignity and value under Spanish rule." Dr. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, University of Michigan, continues the theme of minority studies in her article on "intrigues" of the Florida Indians during the Revolutionary Era. Unfortunately, her article is not up to her usual scholarly standards. The central point she is attempting to make is lost as the paper is a hodgepodge covering a little of everything in Indian-white relations between 1774 and 1790. William C. Sturtevant of the Smithsonian Institution was the commentator at this session.

Unquestionably the strongest part of the volume is the three distinct articles by Professors Michael G. Kammen, Cornell University, Robert R. Rea, Auburn University, and Louis De Vorsey, Jr., University of Georgia. Kammen displays a remarkable breadth of knowledge in an admittedly suggestive essay concerning "colonization as a historical process." In an intriguing exploration of the "comparative (and the comparable), the universe (and the universal)," he concludes that there is probably too little that is unique in English and Spanish colonization to explain the cultural origins of America. He also conjectures that "Florida's uniqueness rests paradoxically in its own universality." In what he labels an "exploratory essay," Professor Rea presents a summary of the international diplomacy concerning British West Florida and enters a plea for more in-depth work on the complex relations of the frontier colony. As Paul Smith writes in his commentary, Rea's contribu-

tion is indeed a "tantalizing summary." Professor De Vorse's brief article on William Gerard De Brahm summarizes the career of this intriguing man and reviews his cartographic and written accounts of East Florida but adds little that is new to De Vorse's earlier work on De Brahm.

The visual arts are the subjects which Samuel Wilson, Jr., of New Orleans, and Professor Jessie J. Poesch, Newcomb College-Tulane University, explore. In a misnamed article, Wilson analyzes the French architecture in Louisiana and West Florida in the eighteenth century. There is a sampling of information on Spanish architecture but virtually nothing is included from the rich repositories of British materials. Most of the somewhat disjointed paper concerns Mobile and New Orleans and describes public structures-forts, barracks, government houses, etc.-with only slight attention given to private dwellings. Professor Poesch's brief contribution on painting and furniture is just that-too brief. In an article dealing primarily with Louisiana, what appears to be an incomplete extract of a larger work leaves the reader with a desire for more information than is furnished. Charles van Ravensway, director of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, wrote the commentary of this session.

The Florida Bicentennial Commission and the University Presses of Florida are to be commended for their efforts in producing a volume of suggestive essays which will help to stimulate further investigation of Florida's role in the eighteenth-century world. This book and the remaining four volumes to be published should enjoy a warm reception from those interested in Florida history.

Troy State University at Fort Rucker

J. BARTON STARR

Knights of the Fourth Estate: The Story of the Miami Herald.

By Nixon Smiley. (Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., 1975. 340 pp. Preface, illustrations, index. \$14.95.)

Nixon Smiley's history of the *Herald* is really a history of Miami. Although the internal affairs of the newspaper are dis-

cussed, the author is at his best in describing the *Herald's* coverage of major area news stories.

The *Herald* was born in December 1910, when Frank B. Shutts, south Florida attorney for the Flagler interests, acquired control of the *Miami Morning News Record*, with Henry Flagler's aid, and changed its name. Under Shutts and his various editors, the *Herald* was conservative in its layout and the handling of news stories. An admirer of the *New York Times*, Shutts changed the masthead to old English type and encouraged his editors to match its appearance. Few multi-column headlines ever appeared in this era. "Day after day the front page . . . looked virtually the same as the previous day." This conservatism was also shown in the way Shutts promoted Miami and the interests of her leading residents. Although the *Herald* had become the largest newspaper in the world in volume of business during the 1925-1926 land boom, often running to eighty-eight pages in its daily edition, it suffered with the crash. Down to twenty-four pages by August 1926, it editorially maintained that "the readjustment" was good for the economy. Nonetheless, when the September 1926 hurricane threatened the city, the *Herald* played it down so as not to "unduly alarm" its citizens. When an Associated Press wire story estimated \$100,000,000 damage from the storm, the *Herald* decided to claim \$13,000,000, so that people would not get the idea that nothing was left of the city.

Smiley has detailed the *Herald's* rise to top place among American newspapers. In doing so, he has justified the title of his book. While the story of the *Herald* might be more colorful under Shutts's direction, the Knights were professional newspapermen, dedicated to their craft. In the depression era when newspaper after newspaper failed, the Knight brothers built a great journal and laid the foundations for an empire.

When the *Herald* passed into the hands of John S. and James L. Knight in October 1937, they had already proven themselves in the newspaper world. Taking control of the debt-ridden *Akron Beacon Journal* in 1933 with the death of their father, four years later they had paid the debts and built the *Beacon Journal* into the city's leading newspaper. So often American newspapers have been caught in the bind of being run by brilliant editors who did not understand the technical and business

side of newspaper operations, or being controlled by businessmen who had no sympathy or understanding of editorial and news needs. Particularly urban dailies, constantly growing in size and circulation, were often placed in the dilemma of unbalanced leadership. The abilities of the two Knight brothers not only combined to make this balance, but each had the respect and trust of the other. This allowed them to build while others were falling.

The *Herald's* circulation had already surpassed James Cox's *News* when the Knights purchased Walter Annenberg's sensational tabloid, the *Tribune*, in 1937. They immediately closed it and picked up most of the *Tribune* subscribers. Circulation continued to increase as the Knights shed some of Shutts's conservative outlook and made the *Herald* a more sprightly and interesting newspaper. Quality as well as circulation increased under the Knights. News coverage, especially in Latin American affairs, was expanded. Editorial campaigns were fought against graft, corruption, and injustice. And always, Miami and its interests were upheld. The *Herald's* quality received professional recognition with the award of several Pulitzer Prizes, including one for editorial writing in 1968 to John Knight.

Regular readers of the *Miami Herald* did not need to be told by *Time* magazine in 1974 that they had access to one of the "ten best" newspapers in the country. Smiley has presented a highly readable and interesting story of the sixty-five year history of that rise to prominence.

Florida Atlantic University

DONALD W. CURL

Ed Ball: Confusion to the Enemy. By Leon Odell Griffith. (Tampa: Trend House, 1975. 110 pp. Foreword, illustrations, notes, index. \$7.95.)

Anyone knowledgeable about twentieth-century Florida will agree with Leon Odell Griffith that Edward Ball has had enormous impact upon the state. Through his direction of the du Pont empire begun in Florida by his brother-in-law, Alfred I. du Pont, and his own expansion of the Florida East Coast Rail-

road, the Florida National Banks, and the St. Joe Paper Company, Ball and his money have touched directly or indirectly the lives of most Floridians. The problem Griffith faces is to determine what kind of man could acquire this degree of wealth and power, and how they have been used.

Several pictures of Ed Ball emerge from the book. Ask Ball himself, and the self-portrait is one of a humble farmer who, almost incidentally, happens to own millions of acres in Florida timberland, more than a million shares of General Motors stock, and a medieval castle in Ireland. Ask his financial and political opponents who have tried and failed to defeat Ball and his power in Florida, and another picture emerges. This Ed Ball is quite possibly the devil incarnate—tough, monomaniacal about resisting people and causes with whom he disagrees, including the Congress of the United States which has had to pass legislation aimed specifically at him and his wealth.

Ball is also possibly the master of machine politics. As the leader of Florida's "Pork Chop Gang" of rural state legislators, whose political power declined recently with reapportionment, he has been accused of "owning" the Florida legislature for most of the last thirty or forty years. For all that, Ball's open involvement in Florida politics has remained minimal. With the exception of the 1950 celebrated senate race between George Smathers, the conservative, and Claude Pepper, the liberal, Ball's actions or decisions have been well hidden from public view. Yet former Republican Governor Claude Kirk was convinced that Ball had masterminded the opposition to the new state constitution, and present Governor Reubin Askew seems equally convinced that Ball financed opposition to his corporate income tax campaign.

Whatever Edward Ball really is, Griffith's book is not going to help paint a more detailed portrait. Despite its entertaining, journalistic style, it is not a sufficient study of Ball or his role in modern Florida. Not a professional historian, Griffith's use of manuscript material is practically nonexistent, and his documentation is almost exclusively newspaper and article references. He offers little insight into the makeup of the man. He sees Ball in only one dimension—a crusty relic from the nineteenth century whose sole joys in life are making money for his sister

(prior to her death), destroying his opponents in court case after court case, and drinking good bourbon each night. Ball may well be all and exactly that, but his historical importance to Florida demands further attention and inquiry. Griffith has whetted the appetite, but *Ed Ball: Confusion to the Enemy* cannot stand as a completed course. Perhaps Ed Ball once more has confused the enemy.

Daytona Beach Community College

PETER D. KLINGMAN

John Holliday Perry, Florida Press Lord. By Leon Odell Griffith. (Tampa: Trend House, 1974. 80 pp. Illustration, bibliography. \$4.95.)

John Holliday Perry rose from modest origins in rural Kentucky to establish one of the major newspaper empires in the United States. He entered the press world through the E. W. Scripps newspaper chain, but broke away to chart an independent course in 1922 when he plunged into the booming Florida field. He first purchased the *Jacksonville Metropolis*, which he renamed the *Jacksonville Journal*, and in the next three decades expanded his holdings both inside and outside the state. When he died in 1952 he owned thirty newspapers and radio stations, most in northwest Florida, as well as a national concern which supplied ready-to-print "boiler plate" features to weekly newspapers across the country.

Perry was a supremely successful businessman whose power in Florida and national journalism could have brought him widespread public notice and profound political influence. Yet Perry was not well known even in his own lifetime, and, according to Odell Griffith, his reputation is not likely to grow. Because of Perry's basic business orientation, which led him to seek profits rather than power, his impact on the state was not profound. The endorsements of his newspapers could help to elect governors, his promotion spurred the construction of roads in the Florida Panhandle, but Perry was not a political manipulator for press crusader. The "canned" material which he sold to country weeklies was noted for its blandness rather than its power to sway men's minds. As purveyor of newspaper

filler and owner of a large newspaper chain Perry became wealthy, but he did little to shape history.

The style of Griffith's biography is suited to a newspaperman: brief, bereft of literary pretense, without most scholarly devices. There is no introduction or index, and the half-page bibliography fails to cite Griffith's own master's thesis on Perry (University of Florida, 1954). The serious student of Florida and newspaper history will benefit more from the thesis than this recent publication.

Flagler College

THOMAS GRAHAM

Ante-bellum Pensacola and the Military Presence. By Ernest F. Dibble. (Pensacola: Pensacola/Escambia Development Commission, 1974. Introduction, chronology, maps, illustrations, notes, readings, essay on sources. \$6.00; \$3.00 paper.)

This brief book consists of six essays on aspects of the history of Pensacola, plus a chronology and an essay on sources. The six essays have the following titles: The Pensacola Navy Yard and the Repeopling of Pensacola, the late 1820's; William H. Chase: Fort and Prosperity Builder; Slave Labor at Pensacola Military Installations; Mallory's Mishap: The Sloop Pensacola; Depression and Diseases; and In Final Irony. The organization is primarily chronological, but in such chapters as *Depressions and Diseases*, it has to shift. The book under review is the third volume of an eight-volume set called "The Pensacola Series Commemorating the "American Revolution Bicentennial." Four of the eight have so far appeared in print.

All the chapters are brief, but each one is supplemented by reprints of portions of historical documents. The author refers to these supplements as "Readings," and he has found much human interest to include. An example (p. 60) is a contemporary description of Colonel William H. Chase of the Confederate Army calling upon the commandant at Fort Pickens to surrender. While in the United States Army Chase had supervised the building of the fort he was summoning to surrender, thus when he began to read the formal summons his eyes so filled

with tears and his voice so choked, that he had to turn the paper over to a subordinate.

As the title of the book indicates, the military presence was the cardinal factor in the development of Pensacola. For twenty-seven years, 1826 to 1853, the government slowly created a major navy yard there. Even more important was the army's building of Fort Pickens, which it completed in 1834, and its work on Forts Barrancas and McRee. One byproduct of the military presence was that its building "inspired the extension of slavery as much, if not more, than any other influence" (p. 67). This was so because both services relied primarily on rented slave labor. Professor Dibble's chapter on slave labor is the most creative in the book, for in the course of commenting on the specifics of the Pensacola experience, he also speaks to that rather overlooked aspect of the institution of slavery.

The last sentences of this work confirm the priority of the military presence: "Antebellum Pensacola suffered in final irony— it had depended upon the military which, when it divided as the nation divided, brought the town to temporary ruin. In peace the military provided Pensacola's economic boom; in war, her bust."

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON

Testimony to Pioneer Baptists: The Origin and Development of the Gillette First Baptist Church. By Marvis R. Snell. (DeLeon Springs, Florida: E. O. Painter Printing Co., 1974. xi, 355 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, illustrations, bibliography, appendixes, index. \$18.25.)

This book is best described as a labor of love. A great deal of laborious industry was required to piece together the minutes of the Gillette First Baptist Church (near Bradenton), over the span of 105 years, plus transcriptions of interviews conducted by the author, and materials from several additional sources. The incentive for all this work is surely devotion to the church and its cause, a fact frequently quite explicit. It is not, in any academic sense at least, historical research or an "original contribution to knowledge."

One must see Mrs. Snell's creation for what it is, essentially a prosaizing and collecting seriatim, of her own church's minutes. It is not in any way the work of an historian, and the professional historian will not be prompted to spend much time with it. But I for one admire the author and applaud her for doing well what she set out to do. She is highly motivated, quite literate, and impressively industrious.

Local and local institutional histories are back in vogue these days, and one hopes that Marvis R. Snell's efforts may help spark a comparable enterprise professionally undertaken. While there is not material of sufficient extent or significance for this particular small congregation, a skillful historian could have a field day mining the past of a county's, or three counties', worth of churches. Such is a notably promising challenge if that researcher will relate institutional ecclesiastical history to wider developments in the local society. The most conspicuous shortcomings of *Testimony to Pioneer Baptists* are its neglect of context and interrelationships, and its inattention to trends and alterations occurring with the passage of time.

May I take a reviewer's liberty to issue a call for the writing of religious history and local ecclesiastical histories of the people of both *La Florida* and Florida? It is time that this elemental dimension of the state's culture be systematically investigated. To date, the barest beginning has been made.

Mrs. Snell's book touches on several occurrences within a single Baptist congregation which suggest how interesting religious history is: (1) the use of wine, rather than grape juice, for Communion until at least as late as 1916; (2) membership in this congregation by a Negro husband and wife from 1881 (or earlier) until 1887, when the advent of other Negroes to the community resulted in the formation of a separate all-black church; (3) the role of this small body in the opening of Baptist mission work in Cuba; (4) the "Fifth Sunday Union" meetings which flourished as a sort of Baptist camp meeting in northern Manatee County from 1881 until World War II; (5) the open ecumenism in this community until the 1920s when denominational self-consciousness came to prevail; (6) the strict church discipline enforced against profane language, poor church attendance, dancing, and the like, until well into this century;

and (7) the growing awareness of Southern Baptist Convention styles and emphases, as distinct from home-grown versions, after 1910. Mrs. Snell is to be commended and professional historians should be encouraged.

University of Florida

SAMUEL S. HILL, JR.

Florida Ramble. By Alex Shoumatoff. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974. 180 pp. Acknowledgments, map, illustrations. \$7.95.)

This is a beautifully bound and printed book, and it is a pity that the contents do not measure up. Alex Shoumatoff, from his photograph a charming young man, attends a "free" dinner party offered by a land developer, and is surprised when he is also invited to make a deposit on some land. This is typical of the naiveté throughout.

In any case, he decides to drive to Florida, to see for himself where the developer's land is, and it is fairly apparent that he is prepared not to like what he sees. Of course this state is geared to tourism, but it is certainly not the only one in the Union with billboards, motels, and nut shops. The reader receives the impression that all the author noticed between Key Largo and Key West was a parade of advertisements.

Mr. Shoumatoff refers to his guidebook, "a low-income retirement guide called *Norman Ford's Florida*." It is sad that he did not carry with him instead Gloria Jahoda's *The Other Florida* or Marjory Stoneman Douglas's *Florida: The Long Frontier*. He would have had a more rewarding time, and might have been able to write a more valuable book.

His purpose is hard to figure out. He professes to be a naturalist, and shows interest in the Ocala National Forest (although there are likelier places to find the red-cockaded woodpecker he was looking for) and the "unreal beauty" of Paynes Prairie (why "unreal"?), but he mistakes a relatively common Caracara for an Everglades kite, which it does not particularly resemble. At least, he accepts a deputy sheriff's word for it. Where was his Peterson's *Field Guide*?

I'm afraid that the real trouble with this book is that it seems to have been written in a hurry. There are too many errors, many of them grammatical. Was it also edited in a hurry? I have already mentioned the naiveté. "I had spent eight hours in Disney World, a good deal of it in line. . . ." What did he expect? "Out there in the parking lot, *getting* ready to *get* into my car, I exchanged a few words with some people called Ken and Grace Prindle as they were *getting* into theirs. [italics mine] They had been at Disney World since eight that morning, having spent the night at the Blue Parrot Campground one hour north." This is not only lazy writing, but also not very interesting, at least to this reviewer. I found the book crammed with similar uninteresting details: lists of TV soap operas retired people watched, lists of road signs, etc.

There is no doubt that Mr. Shoumatoff is an enthusiastic and observant young man, and that when he learns to sort out his impressions, discard the obvious, the frivolous, and the trite, and check his facts, he may well make a good reporter.

I might certainly be wrong, but I cannot see that *Florida Ramble* has particular interest for Florida historians, except perhaps for the collection of old postcards which enhances the text.

Winter Park, Florida

MARJORY BARTLETT SANGER

Dr. John Mitchell: The Man Who Made the Map of North America. By Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1974. xix, 283 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

The inquisitive intellectual climate of the eighteenth century comes alive like a documentary film in the biographic study of John Mitchell (1711-1768) by Dorothy and Edmund Berkeley. Although the volume carries the subtitle "The Man Who Made the Map," this later aspect of Mitchell's career occupies only two chapters toward the end of the volume. Nevertheless, it is clear that Mitchell's place in history is attributed to his map of North America published in London in

1755, the basic source of cartographic information for this area during the next forty years.

Mitchell, a medical doctor in Virginia at the beginning of his professional life and a London political writer at the climax of his public service, emerges primarily as a botanist in this first full-length biography. The Berkeleys have previously published biographies of two other eighteenth-century American botanists, John Clayton and Alexander Garden. Through an initial friendship with Clayton, Mitchell became one of a rather small international circle, influential in the world of scientific investigation, that collected and analysed plant specimens. In America, the "grand old man" of the group was James Logan, who possessed the finest library in the colonies when Mitchell visited him in Philadelphia in 1744. Other friends of Mitchell were Benjamin Franklin, John Bartram, Mark Catesby, and Cadwallader Colden, better known as author of a history of the Five Nations Iroquois of New York. Sharing an interest in natural history, these men investigated a wide range of natural phenomena and practical inventions.

Born in Virginia and educated in Edinburgh, Mitchell returned to the colonies in 1734, to practice at Urbanna, across the Rappahannock from Lancaster County. The breadth of his interests is indicated by the subjects of his publications: animal and plant hybrids, the development of the marsupial opossum, climate as a factor in skin color, medical properties of turpentine (today used for bronchitis treatment), and treatment of a "yellow fever" that broke out in epidemic form in 1737.

Possibly for reasons of health, Mitchell transferred his residence to London in 1747, carrying with him a package from Golden to Carolus Linnaeus, Swedish pioneer in plant classification, and one from Bartram to Johann Frederic Gronovius, a Leyden member of the botanical circle. Mitchell became a Fellow of the Royal Society and one of the intimate group that met for social and intellectual discussion at the home of the Duke of Argyll, an ardent botanist. Through contacts with Argyll and Lord Bute, Mitchell played a leading part in setting up the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew.

The political currents in America are apparent in the changing emphasis of Mitchell's career. Interested in maps as

a background for a natural history of the colonies, his topographical knowledge came to the attention of government officials as French and British rivalry focused on the Ohio Valley. Mitchell assembled data for a new map using his own of 1750, with the addition of information from travellers, ship captains, Indian traders, and special local maps requested from the colonies. The resulting map of North America, published in February 1755, was a remarkable advance in cartography. It was also a blatant challenge to French claims in eastern North America, and might be considered a rebuttal to the Delisle map received from France by the Royal Society in 1752. A similarly political emphasis appeared in a map published later in 1755 by Mitchell's colonial confrère, the surveyor Lewis Evans, who produced the first reasonable drawing of Ohio.

Mitchell brought out a second and corrected edition of his map of North America in 1757. This was the chief map used by both the British and American armies during the Revolution, by diplomats at the peace settlement in 1783, and for several later boundary disputes in the United States and Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A version of the revised map is printed in the Mitchell biography, too reduced for his notations to be legible. It is regrettable that a pocket map of suitable size could not be included in this fine biography. The authors admit that cartography is not their special competence and certainly made efforts to compensate. Though full scale commentary might not be possible, description of the map should have included such basic points as clear identification of "Fort duQuesne" as modern Pittsburgh, the "Chawanoes" with this and other spellings as the Shawnee, and the "Twightwees" as the Miami Indian nation.

Floridians may be disappointed that Mitchell's famous map includes only the upper part of the peninsula. The old path west from St. Augustine to Pensacola is delineated, with place names of several Spanish mission sites. The map is one of the first to indicate the Kissimmee River, although no name is given to the river course. In the *Present State of Great Britain and North America* (1767), Mitchell criticized the British government's attempts to use reports of John Bartram and William Stork as advertisements for the Floridas, new colonies

acquired from Spain by the Treaty of 1763. In Mitchell's opinion, Florida would not attract colonists and might better be settled by Indians.

Ann Arbor, Michigan

HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

William Penn. By Harry Emerson Wildes. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974. 469 pp. Introduction, notes, appendixes, index. \$14.95.)

Patrick Henry: A Biography. By Richard R. Beeman. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974. xvi, 229 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$9.95.)

The Presidency of George Washington. By Forrest McDonald. (Lawrence, Kansas: The University Press of Kansas, 1974. xi, 210 pp. Editor's preface, preface, note on sources, historiographical and bibliographical note, index. \$10.00.)

These volumes under review concern three of the giants of early American history, all of them at one time largely the preserve of the mythmakers and romantics. Such a characterization— it will doubtless surprise some readers— applies to William Penn as well as to Patrick Henry and George Washington. Penn indeed was scarcely a saint. If he had more than his share of remarkably fine qualities, he was also in some respects a product of his age— a duelist, a slaveholder, a courtier, and a calculating politician in Restoration England. Mr. Wildes, his publisher's blurb to the contrary, has not "penned" the definitive biography of the Quaker statesman. Even so, he has offered us a useful, sympathetic account based on considerable research. Certainly this is one of the best of Wildes's numerous popular works of history.

Patrick Henry and George Washington, on the other hand, have all but been in the firm grip of the hagiographers since the very first efforts to narrate their lives. With Henry, the problem has been a paucity of information in several crucial areas coupled with fascinating if unreliable oral traditions of

the "Backwoods Demosthenes." In fact, William Wirt, who contributed a Henry biography in 1817, confessed that his was "a hopeless subject" for traditional historical study. But Wirt's warning has hardly frightened off Henry enthusiasts; three so-called scholarly biographies of the fiery orator appeared between 1957 and 1969, all flawed to a greater or lesser degree by unwarranted assumptions and uncritical use of evidence.

Richard Beeman's *Patrick Henry* is different, however. Short in length, it tells us what we know about Henry and wisely ignores the time-worn tales and dogmas. The result may not be exciting reading since Beeman scarcely breathes life into one of the vibrant figures of the American Revolution. Instead the author coolly assesses Henry's political style and places the ardent patriot within the framework of Virginia society and culture. Henry was no frontier democrat, nor was he a genuine American nationalist, as were such Virginians as Washington, Madison, and Henry Lee. Nevertheless, as Beeman notes in conclusion, "For all his faults, which Jefferson chronicled without compassion, and all his virtues, which William Wirt panegyricized uncritically," Henry "was the man who gave impetus to the movement for independence in the Old Dominion."

For Washington, unlike Henry, the documentation is extensive, even overwhelming; his published writings alone come to thirty-nine volumes. Still, that has not kept his chroniclers from depicting him as up in the clouds, a veritable demigod. Of course, the biographers have only presented a view of the Father of Our Country that was widely held in his own time.

Interestingly (or curiously?), Forrest McDonald, in *The Presidency of George Washington*, finds that it was all to the good for Americans to build up the first commander-in-chief and President into a figure larger than life. This was an age of national mythmaking, and the greatest role that Washington could play—and he did so very well—was that of a unifying force in a new and untried republic. To McDonald at least, the solid accomplishments of the Washington administration belong primarily to Hamilton rather than to the president. To be sure, McDonald has written a most stimulating book, and in the study of the economic sector of the 1790s he may have no equal. Yet Washington himself stays in the wings of this

monograph while Hamilton has the spotlight center stage. For all its virtues, this book unfortunately is really not about the Washington Presidency. A case can be made for Washington as the decisive master of his own house, but it will not be discovered here.

*University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill*

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845. By Dickson D. Bruce, Jr. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1974. xii, 155 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, map, illustrations, bibliography, indexes. \$7.50.)

After the publication of several distinguished volumes on frontier religion by William Warren Sweet, followed in 1955 by Charles A. Johnson's excellent *Frontier Camp Meeting* and in 1972 by John D. Bowles's splendid *The Great Revival*, the subject has been well covered—both in scope and in presentation of materials.

This reviewer had anticipated no additional study of the camp meeting period to be necessary in scholarly research and had indeed expected such endeavors to be superfluous. And *They All Sang Hallelujah* by Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., who teaches at the University of California, Irvine, contributes little to the exhaustive surveys already made of frontier religions in the United States.

The size of the book is in its favor: chapters I, II, and III briefly repeat well-known facts about the southern frontier, its religions, and the camp meeting as a peculiar experience. Professor Bruce, having used two-thirds of the book for background, at last zeroes in with the title chapter "And We'll All Sing Hallelujah." Here lies his contribution; he has scrutinized and annotated half a hundred spiritual songs which had been effective agents in public pressure at camp meetings. He clearly defines the persuasive quality of the songs and explains their influence on the frontier folk who wrestled both physically and spiritually with the preachers and lay leaders of the revivals.

Unfortunately, Bruce overemphasizes the ability of the average participant to understand complex theological doctrines through the medium of revival hymnology. Recognizing the high illiteracy among the people, the Baptists and Methodists had used no liturgy, but had relied on songs learned by rote to stir personal yearnings for salvation without any theological preparation or intellectual heritage.

The author states his goal to be an "attempt to understand camp-meeting religion as a coherent system of belief" (p. 9). In a highly unstable society the early meetings were anything but coherent. Rather they were a disorderly type of worship that was never officially recognized by the Methodist church. All efforts were bent toward adding members with little regard to the means used. Most of the descriptions of the camp meetings which Bruce used relate to the first two decades of his study rather than to the entire specified period. Methodists and Baptists depended on self-trained preachers who instinctively knew that their congregations had little interest in theology *per se* and less in the systematic sermon delivered by a Presbyterian minister. In fact, the frontiersman had little concern beyond the elemental stage of damnation. He sought a simple assurance of salvation, and, at death, a transfer to a heaven where troubles were no more. The author's valiant attempt to place the frontiersman in juxtaposition with social anthropology is a forced interpretation of a simple religious movement. Peering through scholarship darkly, the reader detects connivance and wishes for plain facts without shade and nuance.

Some recent writers have insisted that the fomenting aspects of the camp meeting have been overdrawn and are out of focus. Perhaps they are correct. Enough has already been written about the camp meetings. There are other excellent topics on frontier religion that deserve the attention of writers as competent as Professor Bruce. Let's hope that the untouched areas will be as thoroughly covered as has been the interesting and arresting camp meeting period.

The book is well organized, has many good graphics, maps, diagrams, title page reprints, and photographs. Professor Bruce writes well, his style is direct and assists in the flow of his narrative. These features were surely factors in the selection of this

book for the James Moody Award given by the Southern Anthropological Society.

Atlanta, Georgia

WALTER B. POSEY

The Mexican War, 1846-1848. By K. Jack Bauer. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974. xxi, 454 pp. Preface, notes, maps, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

To Conquer a Peace: The War Between the United States and Mexico. By John Edward Weems. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974. xxv, 500 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, maps, epilogue, chronology, notes, acknowledgements and picture credits, selected bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Each of these volumes gives a comprehensive picture of the Mexican War: origins, wartime diplomacy, military campaigns, inservice squabbling among military commanders, trials and tribulations of the common soldier, presidential management of the war effort, mounting criticism of the administration, and the political situation in Mexico that hindered peacemaking.

Both authors judiciously use primary and secondary source materials, with Bauer delving more deeply into the documents than Weems. Each differs from the other in approach and emphasis. Bauer emphasizes diplomacy, Washington politics and especially the military campaigns. Weems skillfully builds his story around the activities of ten participants who left memoirs, diaries, or extensive correspondence. They were President Polk, Santa Anna, John C. Frémont, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses Grant, Ephraim Kirby Smith, and four other minor figures. Of Weems's nine Americans, at least three conscientiously objected to the war, yet nevertheless loyally supported their president.

Weems's account, liberally sprinkled with authentic quotations, makes for lively reading, as one follows, for example, Alexander Doniphan's perilous march to and capture of Chihuahua City—recorded in the diary of Private John T. Hughes. Another exciting vignette is Hughes's account of his nerve-wracking

journey with thirteen others from Chihuahua through miles of hostile territory to Saltillo. By contrast Bauer becomes tedious at times in describing battle action—too many names, too much trivia. He also devotes much attention to naval action which was often inconsequential. Here he must be forgiven, because naval history is a specialty of his.

Both authors describe the hardships of military life: the long marches, the scarcity of good water, provisions, and sometimes pay, the deadliness of tropical disease and guerrilla attacks, atrocities (Texas Rangers were notorious), and desertion (Scott executed fifty-one American deserters who had joined the Mexican army). Weems's account is more personal and more graphic than Bauer's. Note his quotation of a soldier's description of Mexican torture methods: "He [would be] lassoed, stripped naked, and dragged through clumps of cactus until his body was full of needle-like thorns; then, his privates cut off and crammed into his mouth, he [would be] left to die in the solitude of the chapparral [*sic*] or to be eaten alive by vultures and coyotes" (p. 281).

As for the leading participants, both authors treat Polk sympathetically. Unfortunately, they note, he failed to realize that the political climate in Mexico prevented any peaceable surrender of territory to the United States. Polk's overwork, worry, and the growing American opposition broke down his health. The authors admired Santa Anna's ability to bounce back after disaster. Yet, he was no great military leader, and he overlooked an opportunity to crush an exposed portion of General Scott's army outside Mexico City.

Scott is regarded by Bauer as "one of the truly great combat leaders in American history." By contrast, he contends that Taylor maintained poor discipline, feuded unnecessarily with the administration, was spiteful toward Scott, and was lucky at Monterrey and Buena Vista. In fact, his attack on Monterrey, says Bauer, "was as poorly executed as any action by American forces during the war" other than in California. Additionally, his unauthorized armistice after Monterrey embarrassed Polk. Yet, he maintained "imperturbable serenity" in battle. Weems, on the other hand, is more restrained in his judgments on the two commanders.

Of the lesser men, Bauer says the stand-outs were John Wool, second-in-command at Buena Vista, and Stephen Kearny, leader of the expedition to New Mexico and California. Alexander Doniphan clearly wins Weems's admiration. Among some of the others they noted incompetence, political ambition, jealousy, of rank, and sometimes rashness in battle. For example, Bauer writes that Commodore Stockton was "vain, tactless, xenophobic, and glory thirsty," while General David Twiggs was barely averted from a suicidal frontal attack at Cerro Gordo. At Mexico City General John Quitman's division suffered unnecessary casualties due largely to his "thirst for glory." Weems calls General William Worth's ill-prepared attack on Molino del Rey a costly effort by "an ambitious general to capture a cannon-casting foundry that was not there." One of his ten, Captain Smith, died in the assault. Concerning one participant the authors clearly disagree. Bauer dismisses Secretary of War Marcy as "a poor administrator," whereas Weems, at some length, praises his experience, wisdom, and administrative ability.

As earlier writers, Bauer and Weems attribute American victory to superior artillery and firepower, good planning by engineers (Lee's work, for example), boldness of the American forces, poor Mexican leadership, and the willingness of many Mexicans, sometimes under pressure, to cooperate with American military forces.

Both writers' limited use of Mexican sources may draw some criticism, but their coverage of Mexican military activities and the political scene seems adequate (Weems more so than Bauer). Overall, I highly recommend both books to historians and Weems's to the general public. Bauer may have researched the archives more carefully, but Weems is a better artist. His account of the Mexican War is the most entertaining I have read.

Clemson University

ERNEST M. LANDER, JR.

Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol. By William C. Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. xxii, 687 pp. Abbreviations, preface, acknowledgments, notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Vice-presidents of the United States enjoy only a brief fame, at best. Yet two have a place in history all their own: they were indicted, after they were no longer vice-president, on charges of treason against the United States. Aaron Burr was tried, in sensational proceedings at Richmond in 1807, and was found not guilty. John C. Breckinridge, though indicted in 1861, was never brought to trial. He had served as vice-president with James Buchanan, 1857-1861. Directly afterwards, as United States Senator from Kentucky, he became increasingly dismayed and angered by Abraham Lincoln's executive actions— which Breckinridge denounced in the Senate as autocratic, despotic, and flagrantly unconstitutional— and by what he considered Congress's supineness in allowing Lincoln free rein. In October 1861, Breckinridge, knowing that he was about to be arrested on charges of disloyalty, resigned his seat in the Senate and went over to the Confederacy. It was soon afterward that a United States District Court at Frankfort indicted him for treason. By that time Breckinridge had become a Confederate brigadier-general. He served the Confederacy ably in every theater of war except the trans-Mississippi West, and in early 1865 became the last Confederate secretary of war. Certain that he would be tried as a traitor if caught, he fled from the United States in May 1865, and remained abroad (in Europe and Canada) till early 1869. He returned home only after Andrew Johnson, as one of his last presidential acts, had issued a blanket pardon to all ex-Confederates.

In 1936 Lucille Stillwell published a brief and amateurish biography of Breckinridge, and that remained the only work available on him until the publication of this book by William C. Davis. Dr. Davis, who is editor of *Civil War Times Illustrated*, has been indefatigable in his search for materials, has given full demonstration in his footnotes and bibliography of his research, and has produced a book much better than Miss Stillwell's. Yet it has serious flaws. It is a book filled with the

details of what Breckinridge did, but tells us little of what motivated him, and fails altogether to explain the inner man, so much beloved by present-day biographers. Late in his narrative Mr. Davis tells us that Breckinridge "was one of the most well-read and educated politicians of his day, and in another time the depth of his thought on society, morals, science, and philosophy might have classed him as an intellectual" (p. 625). If this be true, Mr. Davis had a clear duty (which he failed to discharge) to tell us what some of these thoughts were. The truth seems to be that Breckinridge was a man, not of ideas, but of action and impulse. Though not intellectually lazy, he hated writing; and no man of strong and distinctive ideas will habitually avoid pen and paper as Breckinridge did. No biography of Breckinridge can be considered a success which fails to explain why he accepted the presidential nomination of the anti-Douglas Democrats in 1860 and persisted doggedly in that nomination when he knew all along that his defeat was certain and that an equally certain consequence was going to be southern secession. Yet this is one of Mr. Davis's failures. He is good in explaining why Breckinridge detested Lincoln's policies in 1861. Yet he is poor in explaining why this anger drove Breckinridge (whom Mr. Davis unconvincingly depicts as a man opposed to slavery) into the Confederate Army. After all, there were thousands of Union men in the years 1861-1865 who despised Lincoln, but opposed him within the Union.

There are regrettable lapses into bad taste and sophomoric lapses into sheer imagination. For example, chapter nine is entitled "I Like Him God Damn Him." And when Breckinridge visited Greece in 1867, he sought out the ruined structure where Socrates had been imprisoned, "where the ancient thinker gave his life for the right to think freely. As he sat in the crumbling cell chamber, Breckinridge perhaps felt a bond between himself and the philosopher, for just such a prison cell might be awaiting him now in his own homeland" (p. 576). There are other instances of this kind.

This is a book which will do, but Breckinridge deserved a more penetrating analysis.

Emory University

JAMES RABUN

The Segregation Struggle in Louisiana, 1862-77. By Roger A. Fischer. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974. xiii, 168 pp. Preface, notes, suggested reading, index. \$6.95.)

Roger Fischer, who presently teaches history at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, has produced a valuable, stimulating study of racial attitudes and practices in Louisiana during and after the Civil War. A well-polished revision of a Tulane University doctoral dissertation, this book has the virtue of a clear and crisp style. Fischer consistently makes his points in readable prose; there are no ponderous or opaque passages.

The Segregation Struggle in Louisiana is not, however, quite as comprehensive a study as the title would indicate. The author focuses upon New Orleans, yet that city (although by far the largest in the state) had less than twenty per cent of Louisiana's black population, and less than half the state's total inhabitants. Nor is the rise of residential segregation adequately dealt with even for New Orleans, though Fischer does make a strong case for dealing almost entirely with the schools and public accommodations. These were the greatest sources of friction between the white and black communities, and offered the best hope of desegregation through legal action.

Paradoxically, this study is also somewhat broader than the dates in the title indicate, since it contains much information on the Jim Crow system which emerged in New Orleans during the antebellum period. The slavery-era origins of segregation in the city are discussed in the first chapter, which is one of the best in the book.

An outstanding feature of this book is that it deals with the black population, not merely as objects of white action, but as a people who largely made their own history. The successful struggle of New Orleans blacks in 1867 against the segregated streetcars of New Orleans is a remarkable (for that era) story of black determination and unity. Largely because of resistance from the Negro community, Jim Crow did not arrive again in the city's transportation system until the early twentieth century – a time when opposition on the part of blacks was utterly hopeless.

Fischer has managed to blend the complexities of the racial, political, and social history of New Orleans into a smooth and

incisive narrative. Nor does he take at face value the work of previous historians who have touched these subjects, but rather provides forthright and thoughtful conclusions of his own. This would have been a more important book if it offered the same wealth of information and insights about all of Louisiana for that period, but it is a welcome addition to the history of southern race relations nonetheless.

Georgia College

WILLIAM I. HAIR

Into the Twenties: The United States from Armistice to Normalcy. By Burl Noggle. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974. ix, 233 pp. Preface, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$8.50.)

During the last two years of Wilson's administration, Americans understood very little of the Great War's impact on the economy and the growth of federal power. In fact, the war had revolutionized life itself. Without real leadership from the ailing President, Americans stumbled through a series of crises and readjustments. The stage was set for Harding's normalcy.

Noggle, a professor of history at Louisiana State University, synthesizes the developments that shaped the 1920s and, indeed, the United States today. The author begins his analysis with the Armistice, a time of confusion when the entire world was "remaking." As Harvard historian Albert Bushnell Hart observed, the United States had undergone such "tremendous readjustment" that it was already a new country. Political figures, writers, citizen groups, and businessmen formulated plans for "reconstructing" the nation. Some proposed the *status quo ante*. Others espoused new ways to provide for the common good. But neither Wilson nor Congress provided the nation with a program. Although from May 16, 1918, to January 31, 1919, eleven resolutions and bills were introduced in the two houses of Congress proposing committees on reconstruction, not one bill passed.

Partisanship permeated all efforts to bring order into post-war reconstruction. The Democrats looked to their President

to develop plans, and the Republicans, determined to gain absolute control over all reconstruction legislation, branded the Democrats' proposals as state socialism. Deeply absorbed with the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles, Wilson did virtually nothing to plan for reconstruction. Enthusiasm for social and economic reforms flourished for a time in various federal agencies created during the war. When Congress allowed the Reconstruction Research Division to expire, private enterprise was left with the task of reabsorbing workers and reforming the lines of industry.

The federal government defaulted in facing other problems in this postwar period. For example, it closed its unemployment services and failed in its efforts to put veterans on farms. The government turned the railroads back to private operation under public regulation. But the regulatory system did little more than restore the old Progressive policies.

Actually, there were remnants of Progressivism when the war ended, but Wilson no longer led from this strength. The old reform elements were fragmented, and no leader who could champion Wilsonian Progressive programs was strong enough to gain support. Undermined by the agricultural depression, the high prices, costs of living, strikes, and unemployment, the administration and Congress floundered toward the 1920 election.

Historians have often recounted these facts before, but this is the first time such a perceptive analysis has shown the importance of these two years. Noggel makes use of most secondary sources for this period and in several chapters utilizes primary sources for his synthesis. Although written for historians, the book is readable and often exciting. It is an important contribution to our understanding of twentieth-century America.

North Texas State University

JIM BERRY PEARSON

The Deep South States of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Seven Deep South States. By Neal R. Peirce. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1974. 528 pp. Foreword, maps, tables, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

Almost three decades ago, John Gunther surveyed the American scene in his widely-read *Inside U.S.A.* That work served as the model for Neal R. Peirce's more detailed report, of which *The Deep South States of America* is the fourth of a planned eight volumes that upon completion will include discussions of all fifty states. Like Gunther, Peirce is a journalist.

The Deep South States of America deals with the seven states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The Florida chapter is an updated and somewhat revised version of the account that appeared in Peirce's earlier *The Megastates of America*.

On the whole the author is eminently successful in summarizing the trends, personalities, and prospects in the states of the lower South. He focuses on developments in race relations, government and politics, economics, and urbanization. While Peirce relies heavily upon interviews, he also makes good use of a wide range of secondary sources, and his flowing style and reporter's eye for meaningful detail could profitably be emulated by most historians.

While basically descriptive rather than interpretive, *The Deep South States of America* clearly points toward the convergence of the South into the mainstream of American life. Peirce stresses that, "Rapid and liberating change—change more fundamental than in any other region of America—has come to the states of the Deep South in the last two decades" (p. 13). The bulk of these changes, of course, have been beneficial to the region. Consequently, the author is quite optimistic about southern prospects for the future, perhaps too much so. Peirce examines the progress in race relations that followed the breakdown of the caste system in the mid-1960s and emphasizes the crucial importance of racial equality in freeing both blacks and whites from the heavy hand of the southern past, all of which is indisputably true, if the changes have been as fundamental

as the author implies. Similarly, Peirce tends to equate black political participation, urbanization, and higher income and educational levels with a more enlightened and liberal politics, which is also an unproven assumption, especially since he finds limited prospects for a genuinely competitive two-party system on the state level.

In any case, Peirce graphically portrays the impact of rapid change upon the South's institutions and people. One of the numerous strengths of the work is its broad canvas. The author devotes attention to the outs as well as the established, describing life in a Florida migrant workers' camp and during a winter season at Palm Beach. He balances his discussions of industrial progress with examinations of pollution and environmental problems, which, not surprisingly, he finds most acute in Florida. Peirce pays particular attention to the major cities, viewing them as the vanguard of southern change.

Overall, *The Deep South States of America* is a revealing portrait filled with pertinent information. It is also a delightful book to read.

University of Georgia

NUMAN V. BARTLEY

BOOK NOTES

West Pasco's Heritage was compiled by members of the West Pasco Historical Society under the supervision of Julie J. Obenreder. The plan to write a history of West Pasco was formulated some three years ago by two dedicated women. Others joined in, and while none who participated were trained historians, they turned to the primary sources that were available in the community—old newspapers, graphics, scrapbooks, and manuscript material. Oral history interviews were arranged with the few old-timers who were still living, historic sites were visited, and a variety of statistical data on all aspects of the area's past was assembled. The West Pasco Historical Society was organized to push the history project through to completion. The goal was achieved, and the book has been published. It may be ordered from the Society, 117 E. Tennessee Avenue, New Port

Richey, Florida 33552. The book sells for \$10.00; paperback, \$5.95.

Index to the Archives of Spanish West Florida, 1782-1810 are the nineteen indices of the translations and transcriptions of the papers of the Spanish Government of West Florida, District of Baton Rouge. Copies of the typescripts, completed in 1937 by the force of the Survey of Federal Archives, are available in several southern research libraries, but without an index their use by scholars has been limited. Such a research tool is now available. The *Index*, published by Polyanthos, Inc., 811 Orleans Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70116, includes also the 1937 introduction to the typescripts written by Stanley C. Arthur. The price is \$17.50.

Polyanthos, Inc. has also published an *Index to the Dispatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana, 1766-1792*, based on un-edited translated WPA typescripts done in the 1930s. Copies of the English translation are available, and with this index they can be utilized more easily. A second index volume, covering the remaining years of Spanish domination, will be published at a later date. *Index to the Dispatchers* sells for \$12.50.

Jottings and Echoes Related to Newnansville, One of Florida's Earliest Settlements of Alachua and Columbia Counties, by Esther Bernice Howell Haworth, may be purchased from the Columbia County Historical Society, P. O. Box 566, Lake City, or from the author, 802 East Putnam Street, Lake City, Florida 32055. The price is \$5.00.

Historical Background of Pinellas County, Florida was compiled by the Pinellas County Planning Council to provide data for comprehensive planning and a county-wide transportation study. It sketches the history of the area, beginning with the arrival of Pánfilo de Narváez in 1528, and the first white settlements in the early nineteenth century. Graphs, statistical reports, and illustrations are included.

A facsimile of the 1774 edition of *The History of Louisiana*,

which was translated from the French of Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, has been edited by Joseph G. Tegle, Jr. and published by Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. It is the first of a series of facsimiles to be published by the Commission in its Louisiana Bicentennial Reprint Series. Each volume will carry an interpretive introductory essay by a scholar of established reputation. *The History of Louisiana* contains considerable data on Pensacola, West Florida, and the eighteenth-century Indians of the lower Mississippi Valley. This facsimile sells for \$10.00.

A facsimile reproduction of the 1844 edition of *On the Discovery of the Mississippi, and on the South-Western, Oregon, and North-Western Boundary of the United States*, by Thomas Falconer, has been published by Shoal Creek Publishers, P. O. Box 9737, Austin, Texas 78766. It carries an introduction by Dorman H. Winfrey. Long out-of-print, only rarely does a copy appear for sale, and the price for this scarce item has been high. This facsimile makes *On the Discovery* available to American historians interested in the history of the Gulf Coast area. The volume sells for \$6.80.

Manuscript Sources In the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution was compiled by John R. Sellers, Gerard W. Gawalt, Paul H. Smith, and Patricia Molen van Ee as part of the Library of Congress's American Revolution Bicentennial program. It lists the manuscripts of the Revolutionary Period, covering both domestic collections and foreign reproductions. Business, personal, military, and public account books, American and British orderly books, and a large number of journals, diaries, and miscellaneous manuscripts are included. There are many manuscript items relating to East and West Florida, St. Augustine, Fort San Marcos de Apalache, and to individuals who were involved in the history of the area during the British Period. The book sells for \$8.70 from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

A Bibliography of Printed Battle Plans of the American Revolution, 1775-1795, by Kenneth Nebenzahl, is another of

the important research guides to the source material on the American Revolution that are becoming available. This compilation begins with De Costa's map of the Boston area at the time of the battles at Lexington and Concord. Maps relating to the War in the Carolinas and Georgia, including the Savannah Campaign of December 1778, are included in a separate section. The maps are listed together with analytical and source notes, physical description, and their present location. Since this work includes only the maps of battle plans for the thirteen colonies, neither East nor West Florida are included. Published by the University of Chicago Press, this book sells for \$12.00.

Early Georgia Portraits, 1715-1870 includes some 600 portraits of the men, women, and children who played a role in Georgia's history from its founding by James Oglethorpe until the twentieth century. Both European and American painters are represented, although many of the artists are listed as "unknown." Thomas Sully, Rembrandt Peale, Charles Wilson Peale, Jeremiah Theus, John Trumbull, John Singleton Copley, and Gilbert Stuart are some of the outstanding American artists represented in this volume. There is an index to the portraits and the artists. All of the portraits are described and there is a brief biographical sketch of each subject. The volume was published by the University of Georgia Press for the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Georgia, and it sells for \$25.00.

The Dead Towns of Sunbury and Dorchester, by Paul McIlvaine was published in 1971, and reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. An expanded second edition is now available, which may be ordered from Mr. McIlvaine, Route 3, Box 90, Hendersonville, North Carolina 28739. The price is \$3.95. Mr. McIlvaine, a retired air force officer, is a native of Jacksonville. Sunbury, Georgia was founded in 1758 by migrating Puritans from Dorchester, South Carolina. During the colonial period, it rivaled Savannah as a seaport, but declined after the American Revolution, and by the close of the Civil War, it had entirely disappeared. Dorchester, South Carolina, once one of the state's largest communities, dates to the seventeenth century. It also

played an active role during the colonial period and the American Revolution.

The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689, edited by Warren M. Billings, was published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press. Many of these documents are appearing in print for the first time, and all will be useful for those doing work in early southern colonial history. The book sells for \$12.95.

The Only Land I Know is a history of the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina written by Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades. Both authors are members of the history faculty at Pembroke State University, and Professor Dial is himself a Lumbee. This short but carefully researched volume deals with the origin of the Lumbees and the role that they have played in the history of North Carolina and the South. The Lumbees today constitute the majority of the population of Robeson County. Much of the material dealing with the contemporary life-style of the Indians was accumulated by the authors through oral history interviews. Published by the Indian Historian Press, 1451 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, California 94117, the book sells for \$6.00.

A List of References for the History of Black Americans in Agriculture, 1619-1974, was compiled by Joel Schor and Cecil Harvey for the American Agricultural History Bibliography Series being published by the University of California Agricultural Center at Davis, California. Books, articles (including several from the *Florida Historical Quarterly*), and doctoral dissertations relating to Florida are included.

Ikwa of the Temple Mounds, by Margaret Zehmer Searcy, is a fictional account for children of the Indians who lived in villages along the Mississippi River and its tributaries several hundred years ago. They are known as the Mississippi Temple Mound Builders. In their villages, the people built large earthen mounds on which to put a temple. Mound locations have been found throughout the Southeast, including Florida. There is a

complex of Indian mounds dating back more than 1,000 years at Crystal River. The Indians raised crops, including corn, hunted, and fished; they made pottery and used stone axes, hoes, and pointed tools; and they knew how to weave cloth. Published by the University of Alabama Press, this book sells for \$5.50.

HISTORY NEWS

Panton, Leslie Papers

The papers of Panton, Leslie & Company are being collected by a consortium which includes the University of West Florida, the University of Florida, and the Florida Historical Society, in cooperation with the National Historical Publications Commission. All documents pertinent to Panton, Leslie & Company and its successors are being assembled. A search of libraries in Europe and North America is turning up several thousand manuscript pages. The entire collection and its computerized index will be microfilmed, and several volumes of selected documents will be published. A narrative history will comprise the first volume of the letter press edition of published documents and is projected for publication in 1976. Funds for this volume are being made available by the University of West Florida and the Florida Bicentennial Commission.

Panton, Leslie & Company was a British firm which operated in St. Augustine, along the St. Johns River, and in West Florida during the British period. In the Spanish Floridas, it operated under the names of Panton, Leslie & Company (1783-1801), John Leslie & Company (1801-1804), and John Forbes & Company (1804-1821).

The editor and project director is Professor William S. Coker of the University of West Florida. Anyone having pertinent material is asked to contact him at The Library, The University of West Florida, Pensacola, Florida 32504.

Joseph E. Lee Library Museum

Groundbreaking ceremonies were held last month for the Joseph E. Lee Library Museum in Jacksonville. It will be located at 1424 East 17th Street. Construction of the Library Museum is being provided by the Navy Seabees and other Jacksonville navy personnel with funds granted by the Florida Bicentennial Commission. The Library Museum will become a major depository of black history; its theme will be the "Emergence of

Black Political, Religious, Civic and Fraternity Leadership in the Post-Civil War Era." The Museum will provide an opportunity for scholars, historians, and students to study and review information on the contributions of blacks to Florida's history. Opening date is scheduled for January 1, 1976. Isaiah J. Williams, III is coordinator for the project. The site is on the Florida Bicentennial Trail.

Announcements and Activities

The 1976 conference of the Florida College Teachers of History will meet on the campus of the University of Florida, April 9-10, 1976. Dr. George Pozzetta is in charge of local arrangements, and Dr. David Colburn is program chairman. Ideas for panels and individual papers should be directed to Dr. Colburn, Department of Social Sciences, 352 Little Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32602.

The first issue of the *Bicentennial Chronicle*, published by Third Century U. S. A. as a Greater Miami Bicentennial project was issued July 4, 1975. It carried an article by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau. For information, write Third Century U.S.A., P. O. Box 451976, Miami, Florida 33145.

The Southern Genealogist's Exchange Society will hold a Bicentennial genealogical seminar in Jacksonville, October 24-25, 1975. Mrs. Mary B. Warren of Danielsville, Georgia, and Dr. John I. Coddington, Bordentown, New Jersey, will be the keynote speakers for this twelfth annual seminar. For information, write the Society at P. O. Box 2801, Jacksonville, Florida 32203.

The Loxahatchee Historical Society has published an historical map of its area. The maps sell for \$2.00 each and may be ordered from Shirley P. Floyd, P. O. Box 576, Jupiter, Florida 33458.

The following are reduced prices for volumes in the Pensacola Bicentennial Series: *Colonial Pensacola*, \$2.50, paperback, and \$5.00 hardback, *Andrew Jackson* and *Pensacola*, \$2.50, paperback, and \$5.00 hardback; and *Pensacola In Pictures and*

Prints, \$7.50 paperback, \$9.00 hardback. Order from the Pensacola News-Journal, Inc., P. O. Box 12710, Pensacola, Florida 32574, and include a handling charge of fifty cents for each book ordered.

Entries for the 1976 General L. Kemper Williams Prizes in Louisiana History, sponsored by The Historic New Orleans Collection in cooperation with the Louisiana Historical Association, are now being accepted. Prizes are \$500.00 for the best published article or book and \$200.00 for the best manuscript by an unpublished author. For information, write to the General L. Kemper Williams Prize Committee, Historic New Orleans Collection, 533 Royal Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70130.

The fourth annual General W. S. Brown Memorial Military History Conference will be held, January 24, 1976, at the University of Alabama's Continuing Education Center. "The Role of the Military in Modern World Affairs: The American Revolution" is the subject for the conference, and there will be papers on "The Continental Line Regiments," "Eighteenth-Century Warfare as a Cultural Ritual," "The Navies of the American Revolution," "The American Militia," and "The Marines in the American Revolution." For information, write to George M. Faulk, P. O. Box 2967, University, Alabama 35486.

"The Bicentennial: Beyond the Birthday" is a color film presentation which seeks to encourage public involvement in meaningful Bicentennial projects and programs. The film was produced by the National Committee for the Bicentennial Era, a non-profit organization whose purpose is to encourage a Bicentennial observation of lasting achievement and benefit for the nation. Copies of the twenty-eight minute program are available at no charge in sixteen mm. film. Groups interested should write on organization letterhead to: Films, The National Committee for the Bicentennial Era, 110 East 59th Street, New York, New York 10022. Include name and title of person requesting program, organization, mailing address, and three alternate showing dates.

Notices

Stephen Kerber, Department of History, University of Florida, is writing a biography of Florida's former governor and United States Senator, Park Trammell of Lakeland. Trammell served as mayor of Lakeland, a member of both houses of the Florida legislature, state attorney general, governor from 1913 to 1917, and senator from 1917 until his death in 1936. Mr. Kerber is interested in locating any papers, letters, or other material belonging or relating to Park Trammell and his two wives, Virginia Darby Trammell and Beatrice Mesmer Trammell. Letters may be addressed to him at the Department of History, University of Florida, Gainesville 32611.

Dr. Raymond A. Mohl of Florida Atlantic University is editor of a new historical quarterly, the *Journal of Urban History*. Associate editors include Professors Neil Betten of Florida State University; Blaine Brownell, University of Alabama in Birmingham; and Mark Lapping, State University of New York at Plattsburgh. Individual subscriptions are \$12.00 per year, \$9.00 for students. Orders should be directed to SAGE Publications, Inc., P. O. Box 776, Beverly Hills, California 90213.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Flagler Inn
Gainesville
1975

P R O G R A M

THURSDAY, MAY 8

REGISTRATION: Flagler Inn, beginning at 4:00 P.M.

MEETING OF THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

Flagler Inn
8:00 P.M.

FRIDAY, MAY 9

REGISTRATION: Flagler Inn, beginning at 9:00 A.M.

Morning Session— “Colonial Florida”

Chairperson: Michael V. Gannon, *University of Florida*

“*La Florida* as Viewed by Two Major Chroniclers of the
Spanish Golden Age: Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and El
Inca Garcilaso de la Vega”

José B. Fernandez, *University of Colorado*

“The Historical and Archeological Meaning of the 1622
Shipwrecks in the Marquesas Keys”

Eugene Lyon, *Vero Beach*, and R. Duncan Mathewson, *Miami*

Commentator: Theodore G. Corbett, *Florida State University*

Afternoon Session— “Florida Development, Growth, and
Ecology”

Chairperson: Dena Snodgrass, *Jacksonville*

“Land Baron: Henry M. Flagler, Acquisition of Florida Lands”
Edward N. Akin, *University of Florida*

“History of the Ponce de Leon Hotel, 1835-Present”

Thomas Graham, *Flagler College*

“Florida Environments”

Kenneth Relyea, *Jacksonville University*

Commentator: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *University of Florida*

Evening Session– Tour and Reception, Florida State Museum

Museum Road, University of Florida

8:00 to 10:00 P.M.

SATURDAY, MAY 10

Morning Session– “Troubled Times in Florida”

Chairperson: William Bevis, *Florida Public Service Commission*

“Georgia Invades Florida: A Study in Divided Command During the Revolution”

Calvin Smith, *University of South Carolina, Aiken*

“Abolitionist Sentiment in Florida”

Donorena Harris, *Florida State University*

Commentator: S. Walker Blanton, *Jacksonville University*

Luncheon and Business Meeting

Ballroom, J. Wayne Reitz Union, University of Florida

12:00 P.M.

Invocation: Mrs. Chris Matheson, *Gainesville*

American Association for State and Local History awards,

presented by Samuel Proctor to: Anthony P. Pizzo,

Tampa; Pat Dodson, *Pensacola*; Gulf Coast History

and Humanities Conference, *Pensacola*

Tour of Historic Gainesville– 3:00 to 5:00 P.M.

Reception and Annual Banquet

Invocation: The Very Reverend Monsignor Michael V. Gannon,

Pastor, St. Augustine Catholic Student Center

Presentation of Awards:

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History,

SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

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presented by Samuel Proctor to Richard A. Martin,
Jacksonville

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award, presented by
John K. Mahon to Jerrell H. Shofner, *Florida*
Technological University

Charleton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award, presented by
Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. to Nancy Henderson, *New York*
City, and Jane Dewey, *Miami*

Speaker: A. R. Mortensen, Director, Office of Archeology and
Historic Preservation, National Park Service

SUNDAY, MAY 11

Field Trip to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Home
Cross Creek

MINUTES

The annual spring meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened in the Board Room of the Flagler Inn, Gainesville, Florida, 8:30 p.m., May 8, 1975, by Milton D. Jones, president. The following officers and directors responded to the roll: Thelma Peters, Jerrell H. Shofner, Alva L. Jones, Jay B. Dobkin, Samuel Proctor, William Bevis, George E. Buker, Lewis H. Cresse, Jr., Addie Emerson, David A. Forshay, William M. Goza, Marty Grafton, John W. Griffin, James R. Knott, John K. Mahon, Jessie Porter Newton, Randy Nimnicht, Sister Eileen Rice, O.P., and Norman Simons. Mrs. Olive Peterson, chairperson, Executive Committee, Confederation of Florida Historical Societies; and Margaret Burgess, the Society's bookkeeper, were present also.

The minutes of the winter board meeting as published in the April 1975 *Florida Historical Quarterly* were approved. Mr. Dobkin, executive secretary, reported on the financial status of the Society. The net balance as of March 31, 1975, was \$48,102.28. He called attention to the expenditure of \$500 for the index of the *Florida Historical Quarter-*

ly. The income from the Father Jerome Memorial Book Fund has been used to purchase fifty-three books for the Society's library. It was noted that the Society's library is not carried on the financial statement as an asset, and corporate stock has always been shown at its value at the time of the gift. A \$300 loss was sustained on the 1974 annual meeting. Mr. Bevis moved that the financial report be approved, and the motion carried.

Mr. Dobkin also reported on the status of the Society's library and its holdings. The cataloguing of books and manuscripts is continuing, and the processing of the valuable map collection has been completed. Files and pamphlet materials are being worked on presently, and important materials are showing up through the file search. Mr. Dobkin said he was pleased with the physical condition of the library. Duplicate materials received by the University of South Florida are added to the Society's library, and the University Presses of Florida sends copies of publications in return for the use of our mailing list. Dr. Proctor suggested writing letters to the other publishers of Florida books, soliciting material for the library. Mr. Dobkin stated that most manuscript and document donations come from out of state. Dr. Proctor suggested that board members help secure gifts for the Society. Board members reviewed the list of gifts to the Society received during the past year.

Mr. Dobkin noted that the request for information on manuscript holdings from local historical organizations had brought no response. He felt that another letter and sample form should go to those organizations on the mailing list of the Florida Confederation of Historical Societies. Mr. Nimnicht reported that the Historical Association of Southern Florida is working on a list of its manuscript holdings and will coordinate this activity with the Florida Historical Society. Mr. Dobkin said that a list of all property ever given to the Society is being completed..

Dr. Proctor reported on the activities and status of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He briefly reviewed his budget, his professional relationship with the University of Florida, and his plans for the future. The E. O. Painter Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, will continue as printer.

Dr. Shofner reported on the *Florida History Newsletter*. Future issues will have six pages and will be printed semi-annually. Dr. Thomas Greenhaw of Florida Technological University is editor, and he hopes to turn the *Newsletter* into a quarterly publication if finances permit. Dr. Proctor on behalf of the board of directors complimented Dr. Shofner and Dr. Greenhaw, on the looks and contents of the publication. The *Newsletter* is mailed to all organizations on the Confederation mailing list and to members of the Florida Historical Society.

Dr. Proctor reported on the progress of the Panton-Leslie Papers project, which is being supervised by Dr. William Coker, University of West Florida. The plan is to microfilm the entire collection, and to publish a letter-press edition of selected documents. The narrative volume is nearing completion. Dr. Proctor and Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University, represent the Society on this project.

Dr. Shofner reported on the status of the index to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* that is being compiled by Dr. Karen Lee Singh of Tallahassee. Dr. Singh and Dr. Shofner will meet this summer with the index committee to finalize the format so that printing bids can be secured. The Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund will be used to underwrite the cost of publication. Dr. Shofner asked about the grant from the Florida Bicentennial Commission. Mr. Dobkin will direct a letter to Don Pride, director of the Commission, inquiring about this matter. It was noted that the hard-cover edition of the earlier *Index* has been depleted. Mr. Dobkin will get quotes on microfilming the *Quarterly*.

Mrs. Peterson reported on the second annual workshop sponsored by the Confederation of Florida Historical Societies, May 8, at the Flagler Inn. The program went well, the presiding officers were excellent, and comments were very favorable from all those in attendance. There will be another workshop in conjunction with the 1976 annual meeting of the Society in Miami. Membership invitations are being sent to historical groups and agencies. Mrs. Chris LaRoche will prepare a letter to promote membership.

Dr. Proctor announced the Society's plan to develop a book-monograph publication project. Mr. Goza had indicated a favor-

able attitude for assistance from the Wentworth Foundation for this purpose. It is hoped that a publications committee can be formed to publish a facsimile of an important out-of-print Florida book. The original investment would become a revolving fund. It is hoped to have the project underway by the spring of 1976 as part of the Society's Bicentennial program.

Mr. Jones stated that Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., is working on a handbook for the Society. It is planned to have this project completed by the 1976 annual meeting.

The President thanked the directors whose terms are completed with this meeting: Sister Eileen Rice and Messrs. Bevis, Emmanuel, Forshay, and Simons. The nominating committee, chaired by Dr. Charlton Tebeau, and consisting of James C. Craig, Lucius Ellsworth, Addie Emerson, and William Warren Rogers, will recommend to the membership the following persons to fill the vacancies:

District 2— Marian Godown— Fort Myers; Frederic G. Winter— Naples

District 3— Arva M. Parks— Coral Gables

District 4— Harry A. Kersey, Jr.— Boca Raton

At Large— Linda Ellsworth— Pensacola

It was explained that appellate court districts are the geographic areas utilized to select Society directors. The by-laws provide that in so far as possible, the members should be elected from the district in which they live. It was noted that north Florida, because of its size and the large number of Society members in that area, probably is under-represented on the board. One possibility discussed was allotting one at-large seat to this area. Dr. Proctor suggested that the 1976 nominating committee solicit candidates for directors through the *Newsletter*. The following persons were designated to serve on the nominating committee for 1976: Randy Nimnicht, chairman, Mrs. Chris LaRoche, Elizabeth Ehrbar, Tom Mickler, and Tony Ganong.

Dr. Peters reported on plans for the 1976 annual meeting in Miami. The Four Ambassadors Hotel has been selected as the headquarters hotel, and the dates are May 7-8, 1976. George B. Hardie, Jr., president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, will be local arrangements committee chairman. Sister

Eileen Rice, Barry College, and Dr. Peter Klingman, Daytona Beach Community College, are in charge of the program.

Mr. Griffin reported on preliminary plans for the 1977 meeting to be held in St. Augustine. The convention hotel will be the Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge. There were several site selections considered for the 1978 annual meeting.

Dr. Mahon reported on behalf of the membership committee that the Society had 1,636 members as of March 31, 1975. This is a decrease of forty-eight members from the previous year. Mrs. Grafton and Mr. Nimmicht exhibited the brochure they had prepared for use in promoting membership. Ideas for distribution were discussed, including using a variety of available mailing lists and the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Proctor moved that 7,500 copies of the brochure be printed at an approximate cost of \$393. This was seconded and approved. Dr. Mahon asked each board member to take a packet of the brochures and use them to secure new members and to urge delinquent members to rejoin the Society. Mr. Jones urged board members to work on the former members in their area. Mrs. Burgess will send the directors the names of those who rejoin.

The president appointed Mr. Goza (chairman), Judge Knott, and Dr. Doherty to the resolutions committee. The board voted to support the efforts of the Tarpon Springs Historical Society in getting the post office department to issue a commemorative stamp on sponge diving.

Mr. Bevis moved, at 11 p.m., that the session be adjourned.

Minutes of the Business Meeting

The annual business luncheon and meeting of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 12:30 p.m., May 10, 1975, in the J. Wayne Reitz Student Union, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, by Milton D. Jones, president. Mrs. Chris Matheson of Gainesville gave the invocation. Mr. Jones welcomed everyone, introduced those sitting at the head table, and thanked Mrs. E. Ashby Hammond and her committee for the beautiful flower arrangements.

Dr. Samuel Proctor presented awards for outstanding contributions to the preservation and interpretation of local and

state history on behalf of the American Association for State and Local History to:

Pat Dodson, Pensacola, "for a career of devotion to the cause of Florida and Pensacola history, historic preservation and restoration."

Anthony P. Pizzo, Tampa, "for many years of service and major contributions to an appreciation of the history of Florida and the Tampa area."

Governing Board of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, Pensacola, "for creating and sustaining a forum for the study and publication of regional history."

Dr. William Coker accepted the Award of Merit for Mr. Dodson. Dr. Lucius Ellsworth accepted the Award of Merit for the Governing Board of the Conference.

Mr. Jay Dobkin, executive secretary of the Society, gave a brief report and announced that the balance on hand as of March 31, 1975, was \$48,611.48. He listed the gifts to the Society, and called special attention to the donation by Mr. and Mrs. John DuBois of the 1700 edition of *Dickinson's Journal*. Mr. Dobkin reported on the cataloguing of the library and the indexing of vertical file material. The library will occupy its new facilities in the recently completed library building at the University of South Florida in July, and he extended an invitation for everyone to visit the new quarters.

Dr. Proctor reported on the progress of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He noted the large amount of top-quality material on all aspects of Florida history that is being submitted for publication. Graphics will be used more extensively, in part due to the generosity of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc. Dr. Proctor noted that news of local historical societies and agencies will be carried in the *Florida History Newsletter*. He thanked Stephen Kerber, the editorial assistant on the *Quarterly*; Elizabeth Alexander, and the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Jay Dobkin, Margaret Burgess, and other members of the Society's staff; the Department of Social Sciences, University of Florida; and the members of his editorial committee and others who read and evaluate manuscripts for the *Quarterly*.

He also reported that the indexing of volumes XXXVI through LIII of the *Quarterly* was being completed by Dr. Karen Singh. The president thanked Dr. Proctor and his associates for their work on the *Quarterly*. Mr. William M. Goza presented a check for \$750 from the Wentworth Foundation, given to Dr. Proctor for the use and benefit of the *Quarterly*. This marks the third consecutive year this grant has been given. Dr. Proctor expressed his thanks to Mr. Goza and to the Foundation.

Mrs. Olive Peterson, chairperson, Executive Committee, Florida Confederation of Historical Societies, reported on the activities of the Confederation. She stated that two successful workshops were held, December 1974 and May 1975. Plans are being made for the next one in conjunction with the 1976 annual meeting of the Society. She said that the purpose of the Confederation is to assist local historical organizations and agencies with their needs and special problems. She noted that the first issue of the *Florida History Newsletter* had been distributed. It is edited by Dr. Tom Greenhaw, Florida Technological University. Confederation dues are \$10.00 for each member organization. Mrs. Peterson thanked the Florida Historical Society, the Gainesville local arrangements committee, and her committee, consisting of Thelma Peters, Mrs. Chris LaRoche, Elizabeth Ehrbar, and Joseph Cardilli. Mr. Jones stressed the importance of the Confederation.

Mr. Jones noted that a publications committee is being organized, and the plan is to publish a series of Florida history books, monographs, and facsimilies. Mr. Jones also stressed the urgent need for more members. The Society needs the income from dues, but more important, the support of an expanded membership. Dr. John K. Mahon, Randy Nimnicht, and Marty Grafton have been working on ways to expand the membership. A brochure is being prepared which will explain the activities of the Society and the advantages of membership in an effective way to induce people to join. The committee will develop plans for the distribution of the brochure. The president urged each member to become active in securing new members for the Society. Membership has been declining in recent years.

Mr. Jones announced that the Society's seventy-fourth annual

meeting will be held in Miami, May 6-8, 1976. Dr. Peter Klingman, Daytona Beach Community College, and Sister Eileen Rice, Barry College, are the program chairpersons, and George B. Hardie, Jr., president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, is in charge of local arrangements. The Four Ambassadors Hotel will be the convention hotel. The president stated that he felt the past year had been one of the best in the Society's history.

Mrs. Addie Emerson, chairperson of the nominating committee, suggested the following slate of directors for three-year terms: District 2, Marion Godown, Fort Myers, and Mr. Frederic G. Winter, Naples; District 3, Arva M. Parks, Coral Gables; District 4, Dr. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Boca Raton; and At-Large, Ms. Linda Ellsworth, Pensacola. There were no nominations from the floor, and the slate as presented was elected. Mr. Jones thanked the nominating committee and the retiring directors: William Bevis, David A. Forshay, Michel G. Emmanuel, Norman Simons, and Sister Eileen Rice. The president announced the 1976 nominating committee: Randy Nimnicht (chairman), Tony Ganong, Mrs. Chris LaRoche, Elizabeth Ehrbar, and Tom Mickler. He urged that suggestions for directors be given to any of the committee members.

Mr. Goza reported on the status of the Father Jerome Memorial Book Fund. Additions to the Society's library are purchased with the income from this fund.

Mr. Goza, chairman of the resolutions committee, read the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society is advocating the issuance of a United States commemorative stamp recognizing the sponge-diving industry in Tarpon Springs, Florida, where the Sponge Exchange was founded in 1907, and its headquarters building was recently placed on the National Register of Historic Places,

BE IT RESOLVED, That this proposal has the endorsement and warm support of this Society.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That special thanks be extended to Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University, and Dr. George E. Buker of Jacksonville University, program

chairpersons, and to the participants for a most interesting and diversified program.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a particular expression of appreciation is extended to Ms. Olive Peterson, Executive Chairperson, and her committee of the Confederation of Florida Historical Societies, and the participants, for an excellent workshop session preceding the convention.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Society extends its grateful appreciation to the host committee, Dr. Merlin G. Cox, president, Alachua County Historical Society, chairperson; the Alachua County Historical Society; Alachua County Historical Commission; Departments of History and Social Sciences, University of Florida; Florida State Museum; P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; and Historic Gainesville, Inc.

BE IT RESOLVED, That the members of the Florida Historical Society express their sorrow and sense of loss at the deaths of those members who have died since the last annual meeting, including:

Former Secretary of State R. A. Gray, Tallahassee
 Mayor Chuck Hall, Miami
 Mr. N. F. Johnson, New Orleans, La.
 Mr. Fred King, Punta Gorda
 Mr. Alexander Liggett, Washington, D. C.
 Reverend Alexander Linn, Englewood
 Mr. M. J. Moss, Jr., Orlando
 Mr. Robert M. Stiner, St. Petersburg
 Miss Kate Wever, Jacksonville
 Mr. Wilbur Willis, Oklawaha

Mr. Goza moved that the resolutions be adopted. This was seconded and passed.

The president announced that the banquet would be held at 8 p.m. at the Flagler Inn with Dr. A. R. Mortensen, Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, as the speaker. At the banquet, the following awards would also be presented:

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History to Mr. Richard A. Martin for his article in the *Florida Historical*

Quarterly, July 1974, entitled "Defeat in Victory: Yankee Experience in Early Civil War Jacksonville"

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award to Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, for his book entitled *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award to Ms. Jane Dewey and Ms. Nancy Henderson for their book entitled *Circle of Life: The Miccosukee Indian Way*

Mrs. H. C. Ellerbe, local arrangements committee, made several announcements pertaining to the tour planned for the afternoon.

The meeting was adjourned at 2 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Alva Jones
Secretary

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

Books, pamphlets, and serials were donated by the Calusa Valley Historical Society, the Reverend Mr. Byron F. Chew, Jay B. Dobkin, Elba Dodson, Bessie Wilson DuBois, Roy Faulk, Thomas B. Hall, Jane M. Huffstutler, Ruth Ann Krigbaum, and Myrta B. Swallow. Photos and postcards were given by the Georgia Historical Society and Mrs. T. Aubrey Morse of Tallahassee.

A letter dated January 20, 1850, written by Joseph Hernandez, was the gift of Alma Hetherington.

NEW MEMBERS

April 1, 1974-March 31, 1975

William Adams, Tallahassee
Lewis Ansbacher, Jacksonville
Lucille Arlington, St. Petersburg
David Avant, Tallahassee
Howard M. Baker, Pikeville, Kentucky
John B. Bamberg, Orlando
Mrs. Barton Bartholomew, Lake Mary
Sister Arnold Benedetto, O.P., West Palm Beach
*Dr. Otto L. Bettman, Boca Raton
Donald E. Bleakley, Clearwater
J. Earle Bowden, Pensacola
Dr. Raymond Breitbart, Miami Beach

Frank Briggs, New Port Richey
 Dr. J. P. Brown, Jr., Vero Beach
 Randall J. Broxton, Pensacola
 Donal Buchalla, Dublin, Ireland
 Delos L. Carroll, Jr., Tampa
 J. Guy Chipman, Madison
 Dr. Sandra J. Clark, Coral Gables
 David Colburn, Gainesville
 Donna Corbin, Miami
 E. L. Cox, Perry
 Alan Craig, Boca Raton
 Mrs. R. L. Creighton, Coronado, California
 Mrs. Lamar Crevasse, Gainesville
 Gladys Cunningham, Tallahassee
 Joseph D. Cushman, Sewanee, Tennessee
 Mrs. Davenport J. Darow, McIntosh
 Frances A. Davis, Wauchula
 Mrs. Ralph F. Davis, Sarasota
 James E. Dennis, Orlando
 John F. DeToma, Palm Beach
 William E. Dietz, Jr., Rockledge
 Gorham Mack Donahoo, Pensacola
 Fred Donaldson, Boca Raton
 Sister Marie Philip Doyle, O.P., Miami
 Jim Edward, Boynton Beach
 *Philip I. Emmer, Gainesville
 Giles L. Evans, Jr., Jacksonville
 Charles H. Fairbanks, Gainesville
 Jane F. Farmer, Tampa
 Shirley P. Floyd, Jupiter
 Claire France, Mayo
 Arthur E. Francke, DeBary
 John B. Freeborn, Dunedin
 *Dr. Carl Fromhagen, Clearwater
 V. J. Gabianelli, Gainesville
 Ramona Garrett, Clewiston
 A. P. Gibbs, Dade City
 Mrs. Charles Gibson, Daytona Beach
 Lucille Greene, Jacksonville
 Julius Groner, Chicago, Illinois
 Ruth Hallstrom, Vero Beach
 Frank Hancock, Sr., Palatka
 Mrs. Richard Hand, Marianna
 Robert B. Harpham, Clearwater
 *John C. Harrison, Miami
 James T. Harvey, Miami
 Stephen Hayes, Riviera Beach
 Kenneth D. Henderson, Sarasota
 Frank P. Hooper, Jr., Vero Beach
 Zetta D. Hunt, Okeechobee
 William E. Hutton, Miami
 Jack L. Ingle, Sebring
 Carrie Jacoby, West Palm Beach
 Grace H. Jarvis, Jacksonville
 Edward N. Johnson, Tallahassee
 Robert M. Johnson, Sarasota
 Horst K. Joost, Tampa
 William D. Keettel, Brandon
 Mrs. J. P. Kemp, Jacksonville
 John Kevern, West Palm Beach

Mr. & Mrs. E. H. Klueppelberg, Fort Pierce
 Norm LaCoe, Gainesville
 Mary Lillian Leffler, Sanford
 Alexander Linn, Englewood
 Richard M. Livingston, Fort Ogden
 Robert B. Lloyd, Pensacola
 George A. Long, Gulf Breeze
 Joanne F. McAdam, Bal Harbour
 Roger R. McGrath, Jr., Fort Devens, Massachusetts
 Leon A. McKeithen, Live Oak
 Ann Macrae, St. Augustine
 Richard A. Martin, Jacksonville
 S. J. Martin, Miami
 Geraldine M. Meroney, Decatur, Georgia
 Frederick T. Mickler, Jr., Jasper
 Mrs. Albert H. Miller, Gainesville
 Joyce Roberta Miller, Gainesville
 Carolyn R. Morris, Palm Beach
 John E. Murphey, II, Jacksonville
 Randy Nimmicht, Miami
 John C. Nix, Jr., Milton
 Lee W. Outlaw, West Palm Beach
 Christia M. Owens, Melbourne
 Nancy L. Parker, Jacksonville
 Mrs. L. Nathanael Persson, Clearwater
 Mary Ann Peters, Tucson, Arizona
 Mr. & Mrs. Sam D. Phillips, West Palm Beach
 Cecelia Bonifay Pierce, Tallahassee
 Donald Pride, Tallahassee
 Berta Proctor, Jacksonville
 Donna S. Proctor, Jacksonville
 Doris Proctor, Jacksonville
 Larry Rankin, Oviedo
 Theodore W. Redd, DeLand
 Robert T. Roess, Gainesville
 *Frederick Ruffner, Grosse Pointe, Michigan
 Niles Schuh, Panama City
 L. W. Scott, Fort Pierce
 Victor Seller, Oldsmar
 Jane M. Sepmeier, Valparaiso
 Birsa Shepard, Atlantic Beach
 R. G. Shields, Lake City
 Mrs. Jack Shorstein, Jacksonville
 Ilene Silverman, Tampa
 Ed R. Skinner, Jacksonville
 Mrs. M. O. Soforenko, Jacksonville
 Elizabeth R. Spencer, Orange Park
 Ronald S. Spencer, Jr., Tallahassee
 Mr. & Mrs. Robert B. Spilman, Pensacola
 John M. Spottswood, Jr., Key West
 Robert E. Stone, II, North Palm Beach
 Mrs. Sidney F. Tatom, Sarasota
 Joseph H. Thomas, LaBelle
 *Dr. William C. Thomas, Jr., Gainesville
 *Walter N. Trenerry, Key Biscayne
 William R. Vincet, Sr., Sanford
 Mrs. J. B. Watkins, Gainesville
 Inez Welch, Cottondale
 W. S. Wightman, Clearwater
 Lieutenant Governor James H. Williams, Ocala

Paul Woodall, Lakeland
Lewis A. Woodworth, Sr., Tampa
Mrs. James S. Wooten, Miami

Fayetteville State University, Fayetteville, North Carolina
Forest High School, Ocala
Freeport High School Library, Freeport
Mamie Agnes Jones Elementary School, Baldwin
Miami-Dade Community College, Downtown Campus, Miami
Miami-Dade Community College, North Campus, Miami
Northgate Branch Library, Orlando
North Shore Elementary School, Jacksonville
Pasco-Hernando Community College, Brooksville
Southside Junior High, Jacksonville

Boca Raton Historical Society, Inc., Boca Raton
Columbia County Historical Society, Lake City
General Services Administration, East Point, Georgia
Mento Information Resources Company, Mentor, Ohio
Mount Dora Historical Society, Inc., Tangerine
Oviedo Historical Society, Oviedo
Pinellas Historical Museum, Clearwater
West Pasco Historical Society, Inc., New Port Richey
West Volusia Historical Society, DeLand

*Fellow member

**Life member

***Contributing member

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TREASURERS REPORT

April 1, 1974-March 31, 1975

Balance, April 1, 1974		\$48,611.62
Location of Balances:		
University State Bank (Tampa)	\$ 6,525.35	
University of South Florida Account		
95003	88.15	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Gainesville)	17,496.73	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan		
Assn. (Gainesville)	3,039.82	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn.	3,864.41	
University State Bank (Tampa)	1,415.51	
Volusia County property	120.00	\$32,549.97
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:		
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan		
Assn. (Gainesville)	\$15,625.25	
Pennzoil United (thirty shares)	200.00	
Middle South Utilities (six shares)	126.00	
Bayrock Growth Fund, Inc. (Florida		
Growth Fund) (sixteen shares)	110.40	\$16,061.65
		\$48,611.62
Receipts:		
Memberships:		
Annual	\$ 8,736.50	
Fellow	975.00	
Historical Societies	370.00	
Contributing	150.00	
Libraries	3,836.70	
Life	150.00	\$14,218.20
Contributions:		
Wentworth Foundation	\$ 500.00	
Father Jerome memorial fund	102.50	
Charlton W. Tebeau Junior		
Book Award fund	760.00	\$ 1,362.50
Other Receipts:		
Quarterly sales	\$ 1482.88	
Postage and xeroxing	186.73	
Annual convention	2,343.90	
Confederation of Historical		
Societies	248.00	
Offprint charge	83.34	
Rebate to Exec. Secty. exp.	3.06	
Volusia County property sale	500.00	
Transfer of funds to checking account:		
Father Jerome memorial fund	382.16	
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial		
Award fund	200.00	
Charlton W. Tebeau Junior		
Book Award fund	100.00	
Interest:		
First Federal Savings & Loan		
Assn. (Gainesville)	\$ 943.00	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Gainesville) (Thompson fund)	155.06	

SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

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Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Father Jerome fund)	194.73		
University State Bank (Tampa) (Tebeau fund)	97.45	\$ 6,920.31	
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:			
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville) dividends	\$ 847.94		
Penzoil United dividends	40.00		
Middle South Utilities dividends	7.38		
Bayrock Growth Fund, Inc. dividends	1.25		
Royalties (University Presses of Florida)	35.87		
Contributions	85.00	\$ 1,017.44	
			\$23,518.45
Disbursements:			
Florida Historical Quarterly			
Printing and mailing	\$12,174.92		
Mailer envelopes	320.28		
Copyrights	40.00		
Magnadata Corp. (labels)	347.81		
Editor's expenses	780.00		
Letterheads	50.81		
P.O. box rent, Gainesville	10.80		
University of Florida Teaching Resources Center (photographs)	45.45	\$13,770.07	
Annual Convention:			
Program and tickets (1974)	\$ 199.16		
Program and tickets (1975)	85.05		
Flowers	25.00		
Speaker	172.38		
Charter buses	144.00		
Phone	50.00		
President's plaque	16.67		
Postage	25.70		
Motel	1,838.76		
Change advanced	100.00	\$ 2,656.72	
Other Disbursements:			
Insurance	\$ 20.00		
Postage and telephone	619.79		
Rembert W. Patrick Book Award	100.00		
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Award	100.00		
Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award	100.00		
Mickler's Floridiana	187.07		
C.P.A. (income tax preparation)	40.00		
Microfilm	312.08		
Bookbinding expense	704.47		
Corporate tax	2.00		
Executive Secretary office supplies & U.S.F. account 95003	1,080.66		
Dr. Karen Lee Singh (index)	3,050.00		
Refund for Quarterly	4.50		
Confederation of Historical Societies	542.31		
Change advanced	100.00	\$ 6,962.88	
Transfer of funds:			
From checking to Yonge account	\$ 33.46		
From checking to Father Jerome account	102.50		
From Father Jerome account to checking	382.16	\$ 518.12	
Value of Volusia County			

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FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

property sold	\$	120.00	
Net Worth			\$24,027.79
Volusia County property sale			\$48,102.28
(money in bank)	\$	500.00	
Property value carried in books	\$	120.00	
Capital gained		380.00	
			\$ 500.00
Locations of Balances:			
University State Bank (Tampa)	\$	3,486.91	
University of South Florida			
Account 95003		149.23	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.			
(Gainesville)		18,439.73	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan			
Assn. (Gainesville)		2,994.88	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn.			
(Father Jerome fund)		3,779.48	
University State Bank (Tampa)			
(Tebeau fund).....		2,172.96	\$31,023.19
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:			
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan			
Assn. (Gainesville)	\$16,642.69		
Pennzoil United (thirty shares)	200.00		
Middle South Utilities (six shares)	126.06		
Bayrock Growth Fund, Inc. (Florida Growth			
Fund) (sixteen shares)	110.40	\$17,079.09	
Balance, March 31, 1975			\$48,102.28

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1975

Oct. 23-26	Oral History Association	Asheville, N. C.
Nov. 8	American Society for Ethno-History	Gainesville
Nov. 12-15	Southern Historical Association	Washington, D. C.
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	Atlanta, Ga.

1976

Mar. 18-20	Fifth Annual Florida Bicentennial Symposium	University of West Florida, Pensacola
April 9-10	Florida College Teachers of History Conference	University of Florida, Gainesville
May 6	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies– Workshop	Miami
May 7-8	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 74th ANNUAL MEETING	Miami

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A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

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- ☐ Special membership— \$50, \$75, \$150
- ☐ Life membership— \$350
- ☐ Memorial membership— \$350
- ☐ Check or money order enclosed
- ☐ Cash enclosed

T O

FROM

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

OFFICERS

MILTON D. JONES, *president*

THELMA PETERS, *president-elect*

JERRELL H. SHOFNER, *vice-president*

ALVA JONES, *recording secretary*

JAY B. DOBKIN, *executive secretary and librarian*

SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

DIRECTORS

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Jacksonville

LEWIS H. CRESSE, JR.

Cocoa Beach

LINDA ELLSWORTH

Pensacola

ADDIE EMERSON

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MARIAN GODOWN

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WILLIAM M. GOZA

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MARTY GRAFTON

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JOHN E. JOHNS, *ex officio*

DeLand

HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Boca Raton

JAMES R. KNOTT

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JESSIE PORTER NEWTON

Key West

RANDY NIMNIGHT

Miami

ALVA M. PARKS

Coral Gables

FREDERIC G. WINTER

Naples

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$10; a fellow membership is \$20. Special memberships of \$50, \$75, and \$150 are also available. In addition, a life membership is \$350, and a special memorial membership is available for \$350. The latter guarantees delivery of the *Quarterly* for twenty-five years to a library or other institution.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Dobkin.

